

Cypriot Cultural Details: Proceedings of the 10th Annual

**Cypriot Cultural Details.
Proceedings of the 10th
Annual Meeting of Young
Researchers in Cypriot
Archaeology [Retail]**

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Cypriot Cultural Details



edited by
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Cypriot Archaeology Conference

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Iosif Hadjikyriakos and Mia Gaia Trentin

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Preface

...

The glass palaces of the Doges are being pounded in a crystal mortar, strained through a prism. Venice will never be far from me in Cyprus – for the lion of Saint Mark still rides the humid airs of Famagusta, of Kyrenia.

It is an appropriate point of departure for the traveller to the eastern Levant...

Lawrence Durrell, *Bitter Lemons of Cyprus*

So it was for us, a fair starting point toward the East.

The POCA 2010 was hosted in Venice, a city closely linked to the island of Cyprus, not only for the historical events but also for the numerous signs, still readable, in the two islands.

There are countless references to Cyprus in Venice: in palaces, primarily that of Queen Caterina Corner, in the church of Saints Giovanni e Paolo, where the skin of Mark Antonius Bragadin (the staunch defender of Famagusta) is guarded, in the *cichetti* (small snacks usually accompanied by an aperitif) that preserve Levant reminiscences, in the spices, and especially in the famous wine of Cyprus (*Commandaria*), still today recalled in Venetian sayings.

The Venetian past, too, has many references in Cyprus where the evidence is focused on the fortresses and fortifications of Nicosia, Famagusta and Kerynia, in the lions that adorn them as well as in the traditional dishes and language.

The Venice edition of the conference celebrated two important events: the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Caterina Cornaro (1454–1510) and the twinning between the city of Venice and the city of Larnaca.

The most important anniversary in the year 2010 was for the conference itself, which achieves its tenth edition; ten events that have been a major point of encounter and engagement for young researchers from around the world who are concerned with the

history and archaeology of Cyprus. Initially, the conference was restricted to the study of archaeology, but over the course of the editions, the chronological interval of investigation has widened. With the Venetian edition we wanted to give a strong signal in this direction, with a call for papers addressed to scholars of different disciplines ranging from archaeology to art history, and from history to anthropology, by encouraging the submission of interventions concerning both antiquity and more recent times. This choice has been well received by the conference participants and by scholars who, for various reasons, have followed the conference.

A key element of the organization of POCA 2010 was the presence of academics dealing with subjects concerning Cyprus, who made themselves and their experience available to young scholars, listening to the reports and offering helpful questions and suggestions. Traditionally, each conference opens with a keynote. In Venice this was held in the prestigious seat of Ateneo Veneto and given by professor Mr. Graziadio who presented a speech entitled "The earliest contacts between Cyprus and Italy". We take this opportunity to thank him once again for his contribution, which pointed out the ancient ties between the two territories, and also for his presence and participation in the conference program.

Thirty speeches were presented between the 29th and 30th of October 2010, divided into 4 sections: Production, Trade And Identity – Artefacts And Decorations – Landscape And Urban Organization – Cypriot Society. The program was rich with contributions that have ranged from archaeology to history and social history from the Bronze Age to the Eighteenth century. The debate that followed was lively and friendly, characterized by exchanges of points of view between scholars of different periods and areas, joined by their passion and interest for the history of the island.

The success of this edition is due primarily to the speakers, whom we thank. As a result of their constant work and commitment events like this become an important opportunity of growth and exchange.

As we mentioned earlier, an important contribution to the success of the conference was set up by the presence of academic members. Here we would like to thank prof. Demetrios Michailides of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Cyprus and the prof. Filippo Maria Carinci, then dean of the Faculty of Humanities of the University Ca' Foscari, who, as a representative of the University, welcomed all the participants and contributed to the creation and organization of this edition. A special thanks also goes to Mr Lorenzo Calvelli, young professor at Ca' Foscari University, who has followed the entire program with interest, offering suggestions and ideas, and formulating a final report that highlighted the rich and diverse nature

of the research presented. POCA 2010 was made possible thanks to the financial support of Ca' Foscari University, the Humanities Faculty at Ca' Foscari, the Cyprus Tourist Organization, the Cypriot Ministry of Education and Culture, and the municipality of Larnaca. We officially thank them all here.

This volume is intended to be a summary of those three days in Venice. Various events and decisions have determined the publication of 12 contributions representing all eras and areas touched by all interventions.

Each article is the result of the work of scholars over the past four years, revised and updated both in the light of peer review and in the progress of the research.

The book we publish is, therefore, the *witness* to the Venetian edition; but, above all, it is an important contribution to the history and studies of it carried out by a new generation of scholars.

It was an honour for us, and a pleasure, to host such an event in this city, which, we hope, has been a appropriate point of departure for the traveller to the eastern Levant.

Iosif Hadjikyriakos
Mia Gaia Trentin



PRODUCTION, TRADE AND IDENTITY



Precious cloths & prestige technologies: textile production from Pyrgos- Mavrorachi

Federica Gonzato

In antiquity, textile manufacturing was a fundamental aspect of human life, to satisfy an obvious human basic need, and took up much of the community time. Iconography and figurative red polished vases show the importance of such activities in daily life (Karageorghis 2006, 33; Morris 1985, 264). For example textile washing or the care of domestic animals, probably in order to obtain secondary products, such as staples to spin are illustrated. As an economic occupation, either for subsistence or trade exchanges, it absorbed a great part of the energies of ancient communities, and it required a thorough planning of each step of its activities, that could be of such importance as to influence – in the case of textile production – the choice of plant grown and agricultural praxis or animal farming for the supply of fibres, with a concomitant impact on the natural environment. In fact, a complex system brought to the final results (fibre harvesting, sheep breeding and shearing, fibre washing and combing, dyeing, spinning, weaving...): the entire process involved different aspects of material culture, as reflected in archaeological indicators like fibres (vegetal, animal and even mineral fibres, and related processes, such as shearing or cotton wetting in order to see the natural direction of fibres); instruments (looms and loom-weights, needles, knives, combs, pots to boil dye mixtures...) or working environments (Alberti 2007; Alberti 2008; Tournavitou 1988).

Although textiles are extremely perishable, and the recovery of fabrics is an exceptional event in archaeological excavations, archaeometric analysis carried out on Pyrgos-Mavrorachi materials revealed important evidence of microscopic remains of vegetable, animal and even mineral threads. This discovery offers the opportunity to infer important considerations on the relationship between whorl typology and the quality of fibres in connection with

spinning tools, a research which emphasizes the technical innovation which occurred in the passage from Early to Middle Bronze Age.

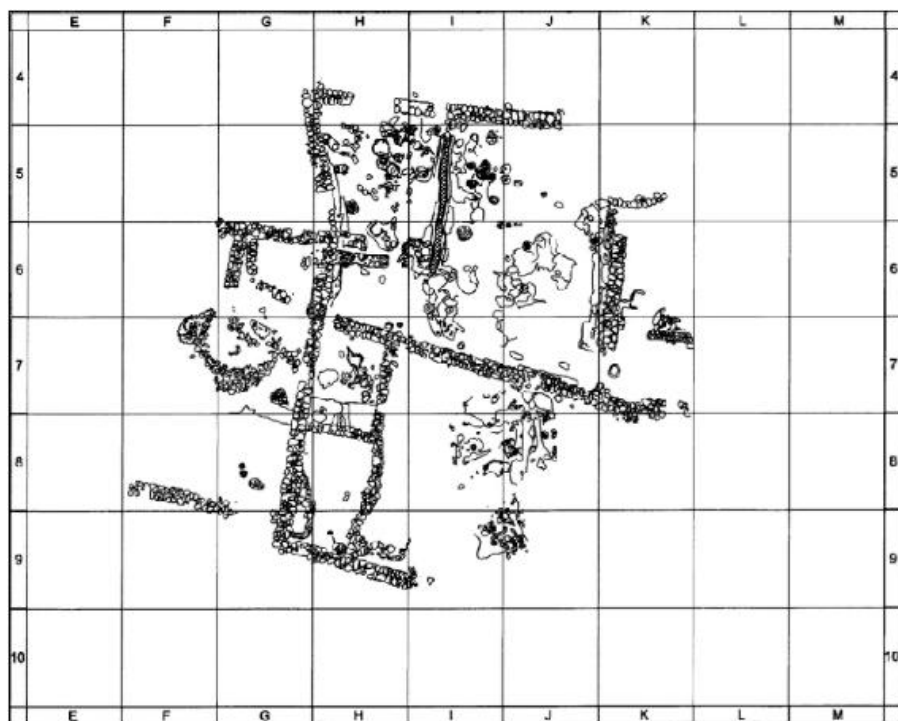


Figure 1: Map of the settlement of Pyrgos-Mavrorachi, updated to 2008.

In addition to the primary function of textile production, other elements reveal important issues concerning social organization. I am referring to three different aspects:

- 1) The sophisticated technologies implied in the manufacturing could guarantee economic benefits and social primacy to those who held such technological knowledge;
- 2) The role played in the economic system, probably on two different levels, for utilitarian purposes or elite exchanges;
- 3) The symbolic meaning assigned to cloth and its effects on social reproduction.

Let's try to investigate these aspects, starting from the archaeological evidence from Pyrgos.

Archaeological evidence of textile production in Pyrgos

Pyrgos-Mavrorachi, near Limassol in the southern coast of Cyprus, was an important industrial site dating back to the Early Bronze Age

(Belgiorno 2009), with important evidence from the Philia Facies, although the main area of excavation belongs to the beginning of the II millennium BC (Belgiorno 2004a; Belgiorno 2004b).

In this working environment, destroyed by an earthquake around 1850 BC, two rooms were dedicated to the textile industry: one to weaving, corresponding with G7 (Fig. 1, see abscissa and ordinate), and the other to fibre dyeing (G6), known by the evidence of natural colouring agents that have been found there.

Further south from the dyeing area, the existence of a vertical loom was confirmed by the presence of stone, clay and mud loom-weights, found in conjunction with needles and weaving instruments, made of bone and copper (Belgiorno 2004a). The loom attests to a weaving method, found all around the island, known from the evidence of stone or clay loom-weights recovered in other sites such as Marki, Alambra, Kaminoudhia, Vounous e Kalopsidha (Frankel and Webb 1996, 198; for the Late Bronze Age: Smith 2002, 293).

In addition to the concentration of spindle whorls already published (Belgiorno 2004a, 68; Gonzato 2009) coming from the textile sector G7, in this paper twenty-one new finds are presented, dating from EC I to MC II, with the exception of a later spindle whorl coming from the surface (Table 1 and Fig. 2, 3). Up until now, four Philia whorls have been recovered, whilst the largest sample covers the EC III-MC II period (see also Fig. 4). The distribution of spindle-whorls over a considerable chronological range – during with the site was active – does not mean necessarily a long lasting use of a single tool, but certifies that textile production had a long life and tradition. Of course, spindle whorls were sometimes lost and not recovered.

Besides the concentration of finds in G7, the spindle whorls have been detected all over the excavation area. They are found in a probable “living” unit E-F5/7 (even if the real function is still not clear), an area next to the larger industrial area; from G8, another room connected with the textile sector; H7, a small storage/service room; I5/6 and J6, the oil press and the nearby perfumery; K7 and I8/9, two metallurgical open areas; and M/L5, a working area with two pits in connection with metallurgy, besides the evidences coming from the new excavation area (D7/9; E-F9/10; H9/10). As it is possible to see from this quick presentation of functional units of the excavated area (for the stratigraphical data see Belgiorno 2009), we are dealing with an articulated complex, not a simple domestic context. Actually, not only the textile sector testified a high and intensive production, which took place in a separated room for a specialized activity, but also the whole industrial installation supports the impression that all the hand-craft activities in Pyrgos were thought as a part of a complex, well organized economic system. It is not

strange, however, that spindle-whorls are also attested in rooms dedicated to activities other than spinning, since this is a process that could occupy “workforces” in different moment and place.

Item	Context	Type	Period	Preservation	Decoration	Munsell Color	Height	Max D	D End1	D End2	Weight (gr)
364	D9D	IIc	EC II-III	complete	-	5YR 5/6-4/6	1.7	3.2	0.8	0.7	16.0
365	D9DL4	IIIa	EC III-MC I-II	complete	-	5YR 6/6-4/8	2.9	4.8	1.2	1.2	52.0
366	D9D L3	Ia	MC I-II	1/2	incised	5YR 6/6-4/6	2.3	2.9	0.8	0.9	24.0
367	D9D L3	IIIb	EC III-MC I-II	complete	-	5YR 5/6-4/6	2.5	4.0	0.7	0.8	41.0
368	D9C L2	IIIc	EC I-III	1/3	-	5YR 5/6-5/8	2.7	4.0	0.9	-	79.0
369	C10DL2	IIIc	MC I-II	1/4	incised	5YR 4/3-4/4	1.5	2.2*	-	-	13.0
370	C10B L2-3	IIIc	EC III-MC I-II	complete	-	5YR 6/4-5/4	2.3	2.7	0.7	0.6	15.0
371	E11B L2	IIc	Phala	1/2	incised	10YR 5/1-4/1	2.1	2.6	0.5	0.4	15.0
372	E10C L2	IIIc	EC III-MC I-II	3/4	incised	5YR 5/4-4/3	2.2	3.5	0.8	-	72.0
373	E10L1 L2	Ib	EC III-MC I-II	1/2	-	2.5 YR 6/6-5/6	3.2	3.4	0.9	0.7	45.0
374	E10B L2	IIb	EC I-II	1/4	incised	7.5YR 6/1-3/1	3.1	2.6*	-	-	36.0
375	E10B L2	Ib	EC I-II	complete	-	5YR 5/4-4/4	1.9	3.0	0.8	0.7	17.0
376	G10B L2	Ib	EC I-III	1/2	-	10YR 4/1-3/1	2.5	3.0	0.9	0.8	26.0
377	F10D L3	IIIa	EC III-MC I-II	1/4	incised	2.5YR 5/6-5/8	2.7	2.5*	-	-	32.0
378	G10A L4	IIIa	EC III-MC I-II	1/4	-	2.5YR 6/8-5/8	2.7	2.5*	-	-	36.0
379	I5 L8	Ib	MC I-II	1/3	incised	10YR 3/1-2/1	1.6	2.6*	-	-	21.0
380	F9EL4	Ib	EC III-MC I-II	1/2	-	10YR 4/4-4/6	3.6	4.4	1.1	1.1	76.0
381	J6 L8	Ib	EC III-MC I-II	1/3	-	10YR 5/2-5/3	3.8	3.4*	-	-	56.0
382	E10DL3	Ib	EC III-MC I-II	complete	-	5YR 5/4-5/6	3.1	3.2	1.0	0.9	40.0
383	H10A L1	Ib	MC I-II	<1/2	incised	10YR 7/3-7/4	3.1	4.0	-	-	45.0
384	E11C - Surface	truncated conical	LC - Geometric Period	complete	incised	10YR 5/1-4/1	2.2	2.3/1.5	0.6	0.5	12.0

Table 1: Data Base of spindle whorls from Pyrgos-Mavrorachi, found after 2008. Numbers marked (*) refer to the measure of the fraction found; whorl weight given in bold font refers to complete spindle whorls, while, if written in *italic*, it means that the weight is reconstructed.

Pyrgos spinning accessories were almost exclusively made of clay, with only two examples of stone and one of picrolite (Belgiorno 2004a, 68) while the most common type is the hemispherical/truncated biconical shape. The central hole is usually tapered, in order to stop the whorl from slipping down the spindle. As for the conical whorl, the base faces upwards (Crewe 1998, 5; Frankel and Webb 2006, 171), suggesting the low-whorl spinning position; this can be inferred by looking at the splintering opposite the base, in the part which was in contact with the ground or surface of other implements (such as spinning bowls) that caused a certain wear and abrasion. Approximately, a third of the whorls are decorated with incisions, sometimes superficial, in other cases deeper and filled with a white paste.

As we will examine closely later, micro-remains of fibres have been detected on spinning tools. It is possible to note from the statistical table (Table 2) that decorated whorls can regularly be found in association with specific fibres as Tortrix Viridiana, Urena, Hibiscus, Asbestos (plus one single recurrence with Hyphaena Thebaica, the palm), considered high-quality and prestigious fibres in antiquity (Lentini 2009, 161).

It has been already suggested that a specific decoration could refer to specific workers (Mogelonsky & Bregstein 1996, 212), but we

cannot exclude at least two alternatives: decorated whorls could be in relation with specific fibres to spin, precious fibres would require prestigious tools; these precious fibres could be processed by specialized or highly qualified artisans, the status of whom was recognizable through decorated whorls. Unfortunately, on the basis of the present evidence, it is not possible to establish a precise relationship between spun fibres and specific decorative motives on whorls.

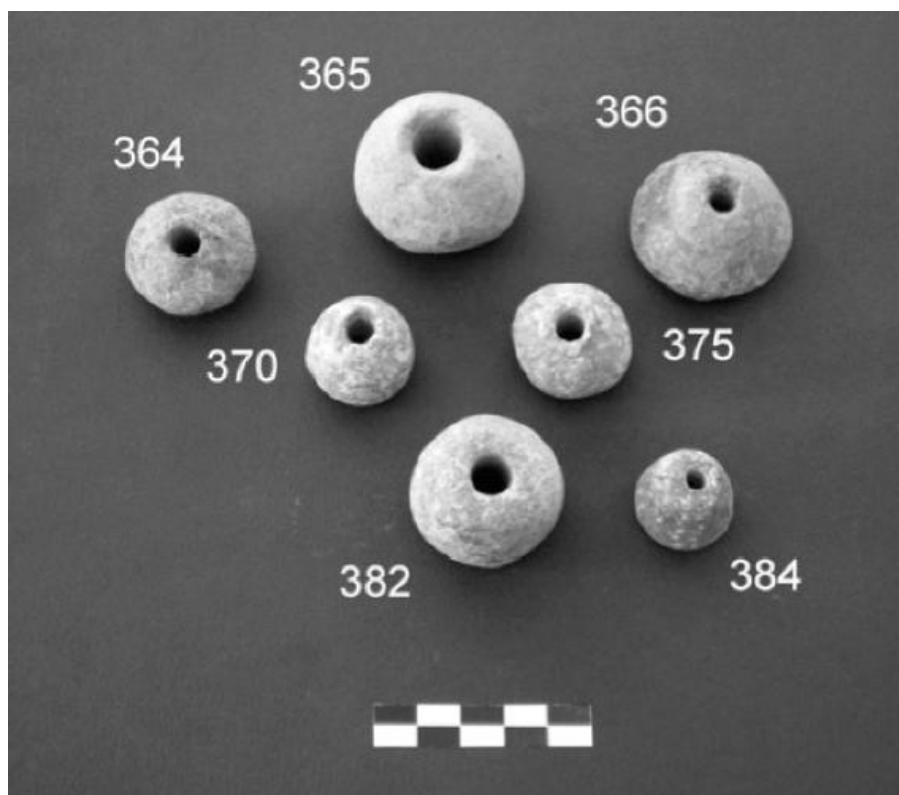


Figure 2: Spindle whorls from Pyrgos-Mavrorachi found after 2008: complete examples. Italian Archaeological Mission of CNR-ITABC at Pyrgos-Mavrorachi (Cyprus).

Technical development and textile quality

As testified in other sites, such as Marki (Frankel and Webb 2006, 172), a wide range of shapes (and weights) is also attested in Pyrgos, in particular starting from the EC III. This trend became established in the Middle Bronze Age, indicating a development in the spinning techniques and consequently the increase in quality and variety of textiles (Crewe 1998, 14). That fact that this shape was kept unaltered

in the following centuries confirms that a good technological level had already been achieved in the MC. In the same way, needles became longer and thinner with EC III (Frankel and Webb 2006, 189), another sign of technological development between Early and Middle Bronze Age.

In our analysis, a great importance is given to the diameter and the weight of the whorls (Mistretta 2007; Chmielewski T. and L. Gardyński, 2010) because these two elements determine the rotation of the spindle, which maintains fibres together and, consequently, creates a uniform yarn (Barber 1991, 42; Andersson, Felluca, Nosch and Peyronel 2010, 165), thus influencing the quality of the spun material.

It has been indicated that the weight from 5-30 gr. is considered light; from gr. 30 to 60 is classified as medium; from 60-90 gr. heavy, and over 90 as very heavy. Medium and big whorls, from gr 30 to 100 indicatively, are normally used for long and elastic materials – for example, Wool or double/multiple yarns spun together – while shorter ones were worked with light whorls (Ryder 1968, 81; Gonzato and Lentini in print).

Of course animal or vegetable materials used in the production of textiles are characterized by fibres of different lengths, thus different types of spinning tools were required to obtain the best result. It is evident that these strategies needed great skills and a thorough technical knowledge in spinning technologies. The wide range of sizes attested in Pyrgos confirms the use of different spinning technologies, in relation to the type of fibre and the final result to achieve (Gonzato and Lentini in print).

Particularly interesting are the archaeometric analyses carried out on spindle-whorls by Alessandro Lentini from the Italian National Council of Research of Rome: the finds were treated with a solution of glycerin and 50% distilled water in order to get fibres associated with these spinning tools (Lentini 2004; Lentini and Belgiorio 2008; Lentini and Belgiorio in print). The organic materials thus obtained were the subject of chemical and morphobiometric analyses to define origin and evolution of these fibres.

Other evidence of textile variations in Cyprus were already known (Åström 1964, Pieridou 1967), the most ancient of which remains the mineralized fragment from Khirokitia (Le Brun 1994, 299) and others come from Vounos (EC IIIB–MC I), Kalopsida, Tomb 26 (MC III), Galinoporni, Tomb 1/40 (MC I–III); Paleoskoutella, Tomb 7 (MC III) and Idalion (LC IIIA). In the Zintilis Collection a metal spindle with a clay whorl still conserves a small quantity of staple but no archaeometric analysis was carried out in order to investigate the nature of the fibre (Webb 2002). In the same way, spindle-whorl n° 41

from Lapithos, tomb 302, chamber G shows the remains of a carbonized material, probably wool, in a EC III context. In addition to this, new data from Pyrgos can now be added. The most common are Wool, Cotton, Hibiscus, Gossipium, Calotropis, Flax, Cannabis and Croalaria; in addition, it is important to note the presence of Lygeum Spartum, Silk (*Tortix Viridiana*) and Asbestos. Most of them still keep the colour of the dyeing intact, obtained with organic substances and fixing agents such as Alga Fucus. Starting from the archaeological evidence, we can confirm the variety of textiles, from fine to coarse manufactured in Pyrgos.

From the statistical table (Table 2), it emerges that constant weight whorls (25/26 gr.) were used to spin Genista (n° 315 and 348). The same situation arises with Asbestos (21 gr., n° 310 and 312) and Urtica, which required very light spindle whorls (6 and 15 gr. respectively, n° 331 and 324).

Of interest is the case of Calotropis: even if we are dealing with only two examples, different weights of whorl were used to spin this material, 32 gr. for spindle whorl n° 320 and gr 100 for n° 330. It is very likely that these two different parameters were functional for the final result, depending if either lighter or coarser products had to be made, since Calotropis was usually employed to manufacture different kinds of ropes (Lentini and Gonzato, in print).

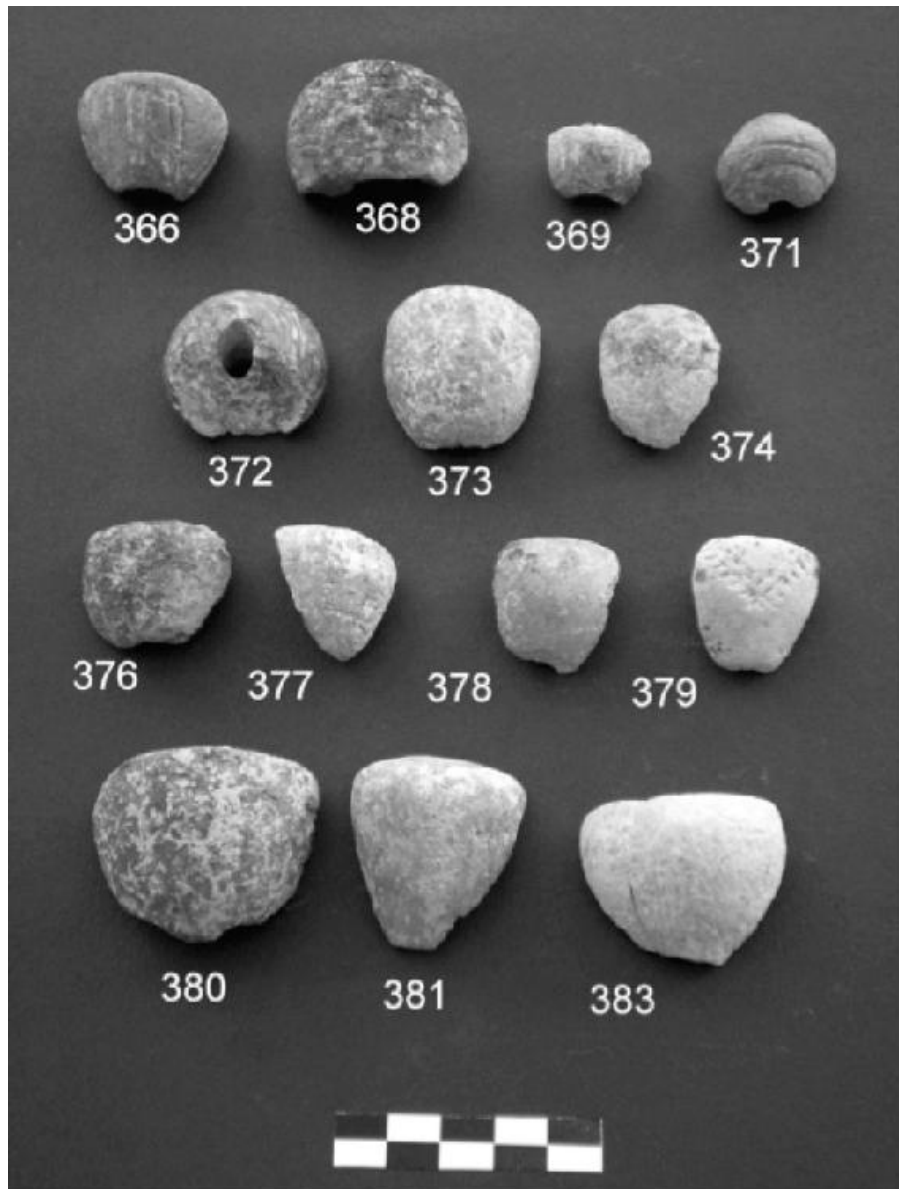


Figure 3: Spindle whorls from Pyrgos-Mavrorachi found after 2008: fragmentary examples. Italian Archaeological Mission of CNR-ITABC at Pyrgos-Mavrorachi (Cyprus).

Samples of *Linum* give two different parameters, from light/medium to heavy whorls, while *Urena* was spun with light/medium whorls.

Spindle whorls connected with *Gossypium* mainly cover a range from light to medium weight, with only one heavy example (n° 341), while *Hibiscus* normally required from medium to heavy whorls: examples are attested starting from 45 gr. up to 103 gr. (n° 307).

Silk (*Tortix Viridiana*) has been found, together with Hibiscus, in two spindle whorls catalogued as heavy, of similar weight (88/90 gr., n° 335 and 303), according to the characteristics of vegetable micro-remains. Silk is an unusual and extraordinary find, until now a Lepidopterous cocoon is attested only in Thera (Panagiotakopulu *et al.* 1997).

The heaviest examples (130/133 gr., n° 301 and 311) are associated with wool, confirming the use of spinning tools of this kind with long and elastic fibres.

Furthermore, in the two dyeing pits (sector G6) evidence of natural colouring agents has been found (Belgiorno 2009, 67; Lentini 2009, 167), demonstrating the use of Purple of Tyre and Rutina to obtain a red colour, Poligonaceae for yellow and Indigofera Argentea for Indigo Blue (Lentini 2004). Since the three primary colours (through which it is possible to obtain countless other nuances) were used in Pyrgos, it is natural to assume the capability of mixing these dyeing agents to achieve a wide range of colours and products. It is evident that textiles manufactured in Pyrgos were colourful, made of fine quality and, probably, finely decorated, if we think that needles were also used to embroider cloths. Embroidered details were, probably, spectacular decorations, as suggested by plank figures, with rich incisions on the body, interpreted as elaborated cloth (Belgiorno 1984. For a symbolic meaning of plank figures: Morris 1985; Karageorghis 1991; Washbourne 2000, 34; Bolger 2009).

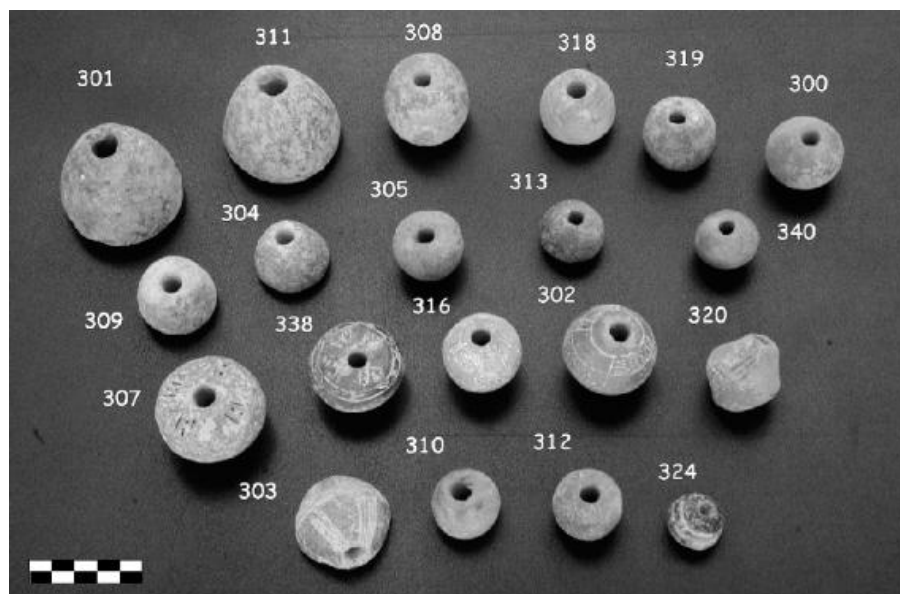


Figure 4: Spindle whorls from Pyrgos-Mavrorachi, archaeological seasons 2004–2008 (complete examples). Italian Archaeological Mission of CNR-ITABC at Pyrgos-Mavrorachi (Cyprus).

The results of archaeometrical analysis carried out by CNR-ITABC (showing that different whorl weight were used for different fibres, permitting also to obtain difference in the quality of the yarn) are supported by the researches of experimental archaeology undertaken by the Italian Archaeological team in Ebla (MAIS) in cooperation with the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research (CTR), which reached comparable results (Andersson, Felluca, Nosch and Peyronel 2010), testifying how small and light spinning tools guaranteed thinner yarns and finer textiles.

The role of textile in the economic and social system

Pyrgos was a strategic site for the production of metals, wine and perfumes, which were traded, along with textiles, in the Mediterranean area (Belgiorno 2004a; Belgiorno 2004b, 43–83; Belgiorno 2007, 34; Belgiorno 2009). Its vocation for trade, facilitated by its strategic position near to the coast, is confirmed by the variety of goods produced in Pyrgos. The spatial organization of the settlement, with areas devoted to specific activities, show, at the beginning of the second millennium BC, how textile production developed from a household to an industrialized and (it's very likely) to a centralized production during the Cypriot Early-Middle Bronze Age. The division of labour, the effective planning of the economic activity and the use of sophisticated technologies implies the existence of a social complexity, with an organization capable of managing trade and the economic system.

As we have already seen, the wide range of threads, different in quality and in typology, confirms the value of the textiles produced, which were probably exchanged not only among Cypriot communities but also traded over a long distance.

Actually, animal, vegetable and mineral fibres were mainly locally available (and here it would be interesting to consider the possibility to own flocks or to grow particular plants), others, such as *Hyphaema Thebaica* (palm) and *Crotolaria*, were imported, the first from the oases of the Dead Sea and from the Sinai region, the second again from the Sinai, but also from the Red Sea coasts as far as the Negev desert (Lentini 2009, 164). Contacts with foreign regions are confirmed even by the presence of important pigments like Purple of Tyre and Blue Indigo (Lentini 2009, 169).

The use of different colours and different fibres was a good way to satisfy not only the demand for luxury goods but also to offer a variety of choice to the Pyrgos community, so as to distinguish their own textile products from foreign ones. Since the island of Cyprus is

located in a strategic geographical position for trade, and if we keep in mind that apart from material goods, also knowledge and technologies were exchanged, it is easy to conclude that goods and ideas traveled together, and that people's contacts obviously led to exchange in knowledge.

Affinities between Cypriot tools employed in textile production and those known in Anatolia and in the Balkan peninsula are a sign of a technological connection (Frankel 2000), even though similarities with other North-Western European regions suggest that these recurrences could be part of a wider Euro-Anatolian cultural setting, although a local development cannot be dismissed (Webb 2002, 367; for a wider perspective Knapp 2008, 119. See also Steel 2004, 126).

New, extraordinary or rare things are attractive and easily become prestigious items (Kohl 2003).

Item	Context	Type (Crewe 1998)	Period	Preservation	Decoration	Weight	Height	Max D	TAXA
300	G7	IIc3	ECIII	complete	-	36.0	3.3	3.9	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> L.
301	I7	Ia4	MCI-II	complete	-	130.0	4.6	6.2	Wool
302	II9	IIc2	MCI-II	complete	incised	69.0	4.3	4.4	Wool
303	F7	IIc2	MCI-II	>1/2	incised	90.0	4.2	4.4	<i>Hibiscus - Tortrix viridiana</i>
304	D7	Ia4	MCI-II	complete	-	31.0	2.8	3.6	<i>Linum</i>
305	K7	IIa6	ECIII-MCIV	complete	-	26.0	3.0	3.4	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
306	E5	IIa2	ECI-II	1/2	incised	26.0	2.9	3.2	<i>Halpna ghedima - Arundo donax</i> L.
307	D7	IIa6	MCI-II	complete	incised	103.0	3.6	5.0	<i>Hibiscus</i>
308	H9	Ib6	ECIII-MCIV	complete	-	74.0	4.1	4.2	Wool - <i>Crotalaria</i>
309	F5	Ia1	MCI-II	complete	-	37.0	2.7	3.7	Wool - <i>Linum</i>
310	Z9	IIIb5	MCI-II	complete	incised	21.0	2.5	3.1	Asbestos
311	Z8	Ia4	ECIII-MCIV	complete	-	133.0	4.9	5.1	Wool
312	G8	IIa1	ECIII-MCIV	complete	incised	21.0	2.7	3.1	Asbestos
313	G8	IIIc5	ECIII-MCIV	complete	-	22.0	2.3	3.2	<i>Gossypium</i>
314	G8	Ia6	ECIII-MCIV	<1/2	-	46.0	3.4	3.7*	<i>Stipa</i>
315	G8	Ia4	MCI-II	1/2	incised	26.0	2.6	3.2	<i>Genista - Typha</i>
316	M5	IIc2	ECIII-MCIV	complete	incised	45.0	3.6	3.8	<i>Hibiscus</i>
317	M5	IIIa6	ECIII-MCIV	complete	incised	70.0	3.9	4.3	Wool
318	F9	Ib6	ECIII-MCIV	complete	incised	39.0	3.2	3.7	Wool
319	F9	IIIa5	MCI-II	complete	-	37.0	3.9	3.7	Wool - <i>Linum</i>
320	L5	II3	ECI-II	complete	incised	32.0	3.6	3.4	<i>Calotropis</i> ssp.
321	F7	Ib6	ECIII-MCIV	<1/2	-	70.0	4.4	4.1*	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> L.
322	F6	Ib6	ECIII-MCIV	1/3	-	90.0	4.3	4.1*	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> L.
323	E6	IIa3	Phaia	complete	-	14.0	2.3	2.8	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
324	K7	IIc3	Phaia	>2/3	incised	15.0	2.1	2.6	<i>Urtica dioica</i>
325	K7	IIa3	Phaia	complete	-	15.0	2.1	3.0	<i>Gossypium</i>
326	M5	IIa3	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	-	35.0	3.3	3.3	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
327	Z8	?	ECIII-MCIV	<1/4	-	50.0	3.3*	3.1*	<i>Lygeum spartium</i> L.
328	H7	Ib4	MCI-II	1/2	incised	36.0	2.6	3.7	<i>Cannabis sativa</i> L.
329	F7	IVa1	ECI-II	1/2	-	20.0	2.2	2.5	<i>Typha</i>
330	I6	IIIa7 ?	ECIII-MCIV	<1/3	-	100.0	4.7*	4*	<i>Calotropis</i>
331	E6	Ic3	ECI-II	1/2	-	6.0	1.3	2.7	<i>Urtica dioica</i>
332	E6	IIIc-	ECIII-MCIV	<1/3	incised	40.0	2.7*	3.3*	<i>Halpna ghedima - Arundo donax</i> L.
333	E7	IIa-	ECI-II	1/4	incised	40.0	3.2*	2.6*	<i>Urtica lobata</i>
334	E7	Ib-	MCI-II	1/4	incised	40.0	2.2*	3.3*	<i>Urtica lobata</i>
335	F9	IIIc5	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	incised	88.0	3.2	4.9	<i>Hibiscus - Tortrix viridiana</i>
336	E7	Ib6	ECI-II	1/2	-	56.0	2.9	4.2	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
337	E6	IIa3	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	-	20.0	2.0	3.1	<i>Stipa Tilia - Asclepias</i>
338	G7/8	IIIb6	ECI-II	complete	incised	60.0	3.0	4.4	Wool
339	G7/8	IVb	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	-	42.0	3.3	3.8	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
340	G7/8	IIb3	ECIII	complete	-	20.0	2.7	3.1	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
341	E6	Ib4	ECIII-MCI	<1/3	incised	90.0	4.2*	3.6*	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
342	K7	Ib4	MCI-II	1/6	incised	18.0	2.5*	1.8*	<i>Urtica lobata</i>
343	F9	Ib1	ECIII-MCIV	<1/2	incised	55.0	3.1	4.1	<i>Hibiscus</i>
344	H9	IIIa6	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	incised	68.0	3.6	4.2	<i>Hyphaena thebaica</i> MART.
345	Z3	IIa5	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	-	40.0	3.1	3.8	<i>Gossypium - Cannabis</i>
346	F9	IIa4	ECI-II	1/2	-	28.0	2.7	3.3	<i>Gossypium</i>
347	F9	Ia1	ECIII-MCIV	1/2	-	42.0	2.7	?	<i>Gossypium - Asclepias</i>
348	H9	III ?	ECIII-MCIV	<1/2	-	25.0	2.4	3.0	<i>Genista - Typha</i>
349	F9	IIa4	ECI-II	1/2	-	38.0	3.1	3.7	<i>Gossypium - Cannabis</i>

Table 2: Data Base of spindle whorls from Pyrgos-Mavrorachi, archaeological seasons 2004–2008. Numbers marked (*) refer to the measure of the fraction found; whorl weight given in bold font refers to complete spindle whorls, while, if written in italic, it means that the weight is reconstructed.

Innovative objects obtained thanks to specialized techniques are included in this category and even technologies could become prestige goods (as Panagiotaki 2008 has shown for faience production). For this reason, elites had the interest to preserve the technological know-how, in order to control the production of luxury goods. Rightly Kohl underlines that the technological development is important in the

social strategies because it allows making new, increasingly attractive “objects” available (Kohl 2003, 9. For different interpretations see Friedman and Rowlands 1977, 214; Renfrew 1986, 146).

Returning to the evidences of Pyrgos, the technical ability of this Bronze Age community is evident: they held the know-how not only for spinning different kinds of fibres (even silk) but also for mixing and fixing different colors. It is important to remember what Helms wrote about the prestige acquired by individuals (the so-called political-religious specialists), who held specific knowledge, comparable to a sort of “richness” (Helms 1988, 5; Helms 1993). On the other hand, ethnography presents many examples of how specialists/artisans (smiths, for example) had a “prestigious knowledge”, which granted a cultural primacy and a distinguished social status (Lanternari 1985; Herbert 1993); metalworking was an esoteric skill and the smith became a charismatic person, because he shared the sacredness of fire.

If we look to another example, in Scandinavian Late Neolithic societies the production of flint daggers was taught through an apprenticeship and the selection of the apprentices was based on hereditary principles and transmitted through generations, implying a complex social structure (Apel 2001). Technological behaviors, knowledge and know-how, defined by Apel (2001) as a symbolic capital, were managed by families and transmitted vertically within lineage groups, reinforcing the kinship and, most of all, limiting the access to “prestige technologies”.

I think we can consider technical ability as a special knowledge which strategically allows to achieve a privileged status, probably connected also with a primacy in trade exchanges. Certainly this is the case of the advanced technologies applied to textile production testified in Pyrgos, a Bronze Age settlement where a high technological level is documented. Textiles, along with perfumes and metals, were exported around the Mediterranean, playing an important economic role for the Pyrgos society.

To sum up, considering the increase of whorl shape and weight from the EC III, it is possible to attest a growth in the textile manufacturing with a significant differentiation in yarn quality, thus offering a wide range of yarn fineness or coarseness. Furthermore, we can suppose that such wide offer of textiles corresponds to a “commercial” demand or to a strategic solution to overcome the market competition. Finally, the holding of prestige technologies had a repercussion on the social position, allowing for a privileged status.

The symbolic meaning of textiles

I do not want to discuss here if a single spindle-whorl was a status symbol (Crewe 1998, 37), but I think that the final product, that is cloth, could be considered a status symbol; colours and precious textiles have a symbolic value, since clothes can be a non-verbal communication medium (Barber 2007; Jørgensen 2007, with bibliography). This claim is highlighted by the use of fibres in different colours found in Pyrgos, which were not only strategic for the traders from a commercial perspective (as we have already seen), but also significant for the consumers in the display of their own status. Actually precious textiles could represent a means to materialize power strategies (DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996) because clothes or tapestries communicate information about social status. As a matter of fact, as Kohl reminds us, every object has a primary function but it can also acquire a symbolic value. In the case of clothes, first of all they have the function of covering and protecting but they can also say something about the social roles, distinguishing, for example, women and men (Kohl 2003, 125). Clothes, as non-verbal communication medium, can tell something about the gender and status of the owner.

In relationship to the Age of Homer, Wagner-Hasel speaks about a «textile Bildsprache» and recalls the habit of presenting textiles to guests (Wagner-Hasel 2007): different qualities were equivalent to differences in status, because it was normal for people to be able to read this “representative language”. It is evident that clothes had a communicative potential, expressed through quality, colours and decorations, and were objects of prestige exchanges. The social meaning of purple (that, we recall, was found in Pyrgos) proves this symbolic value during centuries, because it was difficult to obtain and, consequently, used only by an elite.

Lastly, I am convinced that weaving was a form, a medium, of iconographic representation. The similarities of decoration on pottery, frescoes and textile have already been pointed out, for example, in other Mediterranean regions (Barber 1991, 311; Blakolmer 1994; Blakolmer 1997, 96; Nicolakaki-Kentrou 2007). For artistic creations, artisans could choose different kind of “pictorial” supports, including textiles, if we consider embroidery a figurative art expression.

If we look at the paintings on the model house of Kissonerga (Peltenburg 1991) we can observe that they are typical geometric-squared designs, like those created by horizontal and vertical yarns of warp and weft. Apart from the symbolic and ritual interpretation of this exceptional finding, we know that the house is the focus of everyday life. Some of the designs on the clay model could represent, as already suggested, rugs and carpets used for domestic needs, with both a practical and aesthetic purpose – making the house more

comfortable and beautiful, maybe through the use of colours and decorations particularly meaningful for that society. It is normal that groups differentiated themselves from others and built their own cultural identity drawing boundaries between communities by the creation of symbols and practices, including clothes. Popular traditions suggest that typical ethnic products can be considered an iconographic cultural heritage of a country (Papademetriou 2008).

Conclusion

Textiles are both consumer and prestige goods. The first responds to primary needs, while the second, thanks to technical innovations and symbolic meanings hidden in colours and quality, satisfy the requests of an elite social class.

Considering the available information, textile technique and spinning technology started a considerable evolution from the Early Bronze Age and developed through the Middle Bronze Age (Crewe 1998, 14; Webb 2002): whorls changed in weight and shape to adapt to different kinds of fibres.

Archaeometric researches on materials from Pyrgos confirm the relation between whorl weights and the type of spun fibres: lighter the whorl, finer the spun. This spinning technology allowed to obtain different kinds of textile, from fine to coarse, and consequently a wide range of cloth quality.

The documentation of prestige technologies, including the use of colouring agents applied to textiles, gives us the opportunity to derive insights into two topics: on the one hand, the economic importance of differentiating products with a high quality level, which inserts them into a luxury exchange system. From this perspective, we cannot dismiss the social role played by these commodities, because they were the medium used for the display of rank, so very much sought-after. On the other hand, specialized artisans had an interest in protecting their know-how because technical knowledge was seen as a source of social privileges.

Certainly Cyprus played an important role in the Mediterranean trade: besides metals, the most “famous” economic activity of the island, textiles acquired an increasing importance too, as confirmed by the evidence in Pyrgos and, in later centuries, during the Late Bronze Age, by the textile activities with permanent installations in the Kition Areas I and II, (Smith 2002, 299; Gonzato 2010), and by the recovery of spindle-whorls and loom-weights in the sanctuaries of Athienou, Myrthou-Pigadhes and Ayia Irini, with a likely involvement of the cult centres in this fundamental craft production (Steel 2004, 179).

Individuals of Early and Middle Bronze Age took a large part in the development and diffusion of textile technology, and the archaeological discoveries in Pyrgos, inserted within a industrial complex that supercedes the limits of household production, and relate the important role played by this community. Thanks to its favourable position near to the sea, Pyrgos easily became part of the network of exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean area.

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Inspiration, integration, trade connections: some evidence for Cypriot jewellery in Dark Age Greece

Anna Paule

In this article, a new chapter in the story of proto-historic jewellery from Cyprus and Greece, begun in a previous article (Paule 2012), will be opened. Our starting point is the impression we may gain, of a recurrence of types, often experienced while browsing through the items displayed in museums or in manuals of ancient jewellery. Such a picture of recurrence naturally leads to the assumption that various sites have maintained a sort of contact between each other. In this article, the focus is directed towards a critical examination of some jewellery types which hint especially at a relationship between Cyprus and the Attica, the Argolid, and Euboea in the aftermath of Late Bronze Age. Starting out from some earlier discoveries made at sites such as Perati or Tiryns, other more recently uncovered items can be mentioned as examples which illustrate the presence of both Cypriot and Aegean elements in these regions. The appearance of foreign types of jewellery known from Cyprus and the Near East was thought to come from trade connections (imported articles) and, as a result of migration or intermarriage, by integration or also by local imitation (Cypriot-inspired objects). The same applies to Aegean types of jewellery found on Cyprus.

So far, most pieces of Post-Palatial and Early Iron Age jewellery have, however, failed to yield conclusive explanations for their distribution patterns. As a consequence, this article is concerned with other kind of evidence which could cast light on our hypotheses which are largely generated from the material found during the early part of the past century. Therefore, the aim of this article is not to present new evidence but to update a number of significant pieces of jewellery which are up to now associated with the activities of Near Eastern traders or settlers, commonly interpreted as Phoenicians. As a consequence, this encompasses also the re-examination of other exotic

foreign items which were found besides the jewellery, notably ceramics or metal products. As can be demonstrated in a further step, using both jewellery and other evidence from the same context, there are various signs for overseas contacts between 1200 and 700 BC although such Near-Eastern-associated artefacts are generally limited to a small number. Several of these links can be illustrated with some concrete examples of jewellery found in Cyprus (Enkomi) and in Greece (Perati and Athens).

The historical framework

In attempting to discuss the Cypriot influence on proto-historic Greek art, there are some main arguments involved which rest on several striking similarities among their material cultures. A number of such objects are not only regarded as key arguments for a framework for better concordance among the chronological scales from Cyprus and Greece, but also as decisive factors for the dating of jewellery during the unwritten phases following the Late Bronze Age. The chronological chart applied in this text relies primarily on relative chronology on the basis of correlation between decorated potteries. These observations are completed by absolute chronology for which several archaeological and natural scientific data have been compiled (Dickinson 2006, 20–23 is a summary starting from a Mycenaean perspective but includes material from Cyprus). The synchronism between Late Cypriot and Late Mycenaean links has been shown best on the lists suggested within the scope of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* (Åström 1972, 760–762 whose conclusions can be traced back to earlier surveys as summarized by Dikaios 1969, I, 438). But the correlation between the Late Cypriot and Late Mycenaean sequences of pottery is still a matter of debate. As regards the chronological chart of this article whose upper limit is at approximately 1200 BC, it would be right to point briefly to the appearance of a distinctive type of pottery which for a long time was associated with the arrival of “Aegean refugees” at Cyprus, resulting from the upheavals which have caused the decline of the Late Bronze Age palace societies. Because of their similarity to contemporary specimens from Greece, such vases are generally termed *Mycenaean IIIC: 1b pottery* (for a definition, see Furumark 1941, vol. II, 115 and *idem* 1944, 202–209). In the light of further excavation material from mainland Greece, mainly found at Mycenae (the Citadel) and at Lefkandi, a new correlation between the final stage of LC IIC and LH IIC Early and also between LC IIIA: 1 with LH IIC Middle has been achieved (French and Åström 1980, 267–269 updating some earlier propositions). This fact shows clearly

that the influence from Late Mycenaean Greece was not due to a wave of migration from the destroyed sites from the mainland but rather to a cooperative venture between Cypriots and Mycenaeans (Dickinson 2006, 62). This is all the more interesting since a long-distance exchange of objects, as is known from the Late Bronze Age, was said to have stopped as a result of the destruction or abandonment of the former Near Eastern and Mycenaean palace centres. In view of some archaeological evidence found since the last few decades, however, the Post-Palatial Lower Town of Tiryns became a prime example for intact long-distance communication especially with Cyprus (as indicated by the longstanding observations made by Cline 1994, 60–63 and 87 or *idem* 1999). Therefore, the re-establishment of overseas contacts might have been the concern of some local, now palace-independent operating elites (ruling families) as it was tentatively suggested for Tiryns (*cf.* Deger-Jalkotzy 1998, 124; Sherratt 2003, 44–51; Maran 2005; Maran 2006, 144). Furthermore, new settlement structures imply the merge of new, local communities as it is documented by the Late Helladic IIIC buildings at Lefkandi-Xeropolis. The same is confirmed by some affluent tombs known from mainland Greece – one may think about the discoveries made in the LH IIIC cemetery at Perati, Attica – or also from the Aegean islands. This includes, for example, the Subminoan North Cemetery at Knossos, Crete. For the following Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods, one should mention the cemeteries at Athens and at Lefkandi where several funerary deposits suggest that the contact with the Near Eastern countries has never been lost completely. With this in mind, the ongoing importance of some LC IIIB-influenced pottery for the periodization of proto-historic Greece should be mentioned briefly. This is all the more interesting since other data for setting up an absolute chronology are still missing. Therefore, the correlation between Cypriot and Greek vases such as manifested in some bottles, duck-shaped vases, ring vases and pilgrim flasks found at Athens and at Lefkandi is still regarded as the most striking evidence for the dating of the forthcoming Protogeometric period which starts consequently at c. 1050 BC (Ruppenstein 2007, 135–149 and Lemos 2002, 79–83 updating in particular Desborough 1972, 49–57). On the basis of the apparently exotic nature of such objects, a number of conspicuous tombs should be evaluated which provide a plausible background for our present impression that further cultural interactions could have also taken place simultaneously. To this end, some more correlations between other object classes such as jewellery can be mentioned as examples which complete the given picture.

A Mediterranean-wide exchange system: some traces of circulation

Much of this material, however, has been regarded as antiques (formerly “heirlooms”, Coldstream 1989, 332) of the previous periods which could be purchased also by tomb looting. Furthermore, because of their rare appearance during the periods under examination, the distribution patterns of small luxury commodities such as jewellery have often been given insufficient consideration. Therefore, the aim of the present article was to identify imported and locally fabricated objects and to investigate their geographic distribution. Our identification of Cypriot jewellery is mainly basing on the suggestions submitted within the scope of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* series (Gjerstad 1948 and Åström 1972). Furthermore, in the effort to improve the readability of the discussion of jewellery, detailed accounts of these items were deliberately left out from the following chapters. Instead, a catalogue including the major bibliographical references was added at the end of the present text. This concerns not only beads of semi-precious stone (e.g. carnelian) or exotic materials such as ivory found at the Greek continent, but also a variety of jewellery made from gold, alloyed bronze or iron. All these materials are generally associated with the Near Eastern countries and in particular with Cyprus. But such provisional assumptions only become genuinely usable information when put into context. Because of a general lack of historical (written) documents, however, it is still difficult to track down the former communication routes. One may assume, however, that non-indigenous raw materials and jewellery found in Greece originate almost exclusively from long-distance maritime connections. This can be illustrated using a shipwreck, datable close to 1200 BC, which sank off the coast of Anatolia (Cape Gelidonya). Among the finds of the cargo load which consisted primarily of metal ingots of Cypriot or rather Near Eastern origin, some easily overlooked pieces of jewellery could be found which were stored in a jar (Bass 1967, 109, 132–133, and 164). In spite of the relative poverty of our evidence, this kind of storage seems to imply that these items were not personal objects of the crew but rather scheduled for trade.¹ One of them, a bronze bracelet which was fastened with twisted overlapping ends for adjusting its size, was widespread within the Eastern Mediterranean (see type 2 of P. Åström’s classification, *idem* 1972, 491, 563 and Paule 2012, pls 14, 8–9). This type of bracelet derives possibly from earlier specimens found at Mesopotamia which date back to the second half of the third mill. BC (Schaeffer 1952, 43, 63–66). Later, they can be found again at such distant points as Megiddo at Palestine and Ras Shamra at

Syria; Kition, Kourion-Bamboula, Kition and Enkomi at Cyprus; Armeni-Prinoképhalo on Crete; Langada on Kos; Cape Gelidonya and Troy at Anatolia and Perati at Attika. All these bracelets appeared during the 13th and the 12th centuries. Since they were found for the most part in LC II/III or in LH (LMIN) IIIB/C contexts as well as during the VII B period at Troy, they date primarily to the time of cultural vicissitudes which appeared about 1200 BC. As can be demonstrated using this series of bronze bracelets, a large-scale diffusion of luxury articles such as jewellery could be still conducted at the very close of the Late Bronze Age.

Yet in attempting to explain the presence of foreign exotic items by trading contacts from the subsequent centuries, it soon becomes clear that our conjectures suffer from important shortcomings. This is primarily due to the absence of direct evidence from a large number of the same, standardised objects. Instead it can be shown that there is a range of different items from all classes of objects which reveal close parallels with those known from Cyprus or the Near East. The sudden appearance of Handmade Burnished Ware, Type II (Naue's Type) swords or metalwork such as vases made of bronze is a good example for this. Given this link between the material cultures, one of the archaeological challenges is still the issue of the real impact of such interactions which needs an evaluation of the widest range of objects. In the effort to make a small contribution to the actual debate, the present article is intended to hint at the simultaneous nature of this Mediterranean-wide exchange of objects (imported goods) and ideas (imitations of foreign originals) using some jewellery found in Greece as examples.

Late Bronze Age Aegyptiaca, Orientalia, and Cypriaca

The points of departure for considering a selection of jewellery are some well known pieces from the cemetery of Perati which are indicative of overseas contacts during LH IIIC. The following jewellery examples are of Egyptian, Oriental or Cypriot type. Such items, however, occur in contemporaneous contexts from Cyprus as well as from Greece, a phenomenon which apparently confirms the often postulated idea of Cypriot entrepreneurs (see for instance R. A. Higgins' explanation for the appearance of Cypriot-inspired jewellery in proto-historic Greece; Higgins 1969, 143–144). Turning to the first example, one should mention eleven Egyptian amulets made from faience which were found in tomb 30. These worn-out pieces that represent different deities such as Bes, Thouéris or also crocodiles were accepted as one of the few cases of direct (trading) contacts

between these regions at this period (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 68 and footnote 127 according to Hölbl 1987, 127–28). This hypothesis, however, finds only weak support from contemporaneous parallels from Cyprus. Even if there was a peak period for Aegyptiaca in Cyprus during LH IIC:2–IIIA:1, there are only two faience amulets depicting Bes and Thoth which were recorded during LC IIIA:1 Enkomi (Jacobsson 1994, 55, nos 300–301 and 91–94 which are in part basing on previous studies made by E. J. Peltenburg, *e.g.* Peltenburg 1986). On the other hand (and this is the argument which was contributed by Hölbl, *loc. cit.*), it was the first occurrence of such Egyptian amulets in Greece, a situation which is also known from Palestine where similar amulets have found at Megiddo exclusively from 1350–1150 BC (layer VII). So if the diffusion of such amulets was not effected via Egypt and Cyprus, one might additionally suggest a sort of trading contacts with the Near Eastern countries such as Palestine.

Further examples could be mentioned. Among the various parts which are left from former necklaces, carnelian beads in form of a lotus-seed vessel were fashioned after a well known Egyptian type of personal adornment (see type 2 of P. Åström's classification, *idem* 1972, 546 and 607; see our Fig. 1). They first occurred in Egypt where they were popular during the New Kingdom Period (c. 1550–1070 BC). In Palestine they occur in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age contexts (Dothan 1979, 43 and footnote 13 citing Wilkinson 1971, 152, pl. LVIII a and b). Among other things, there are well dated examples found in tomb 116 at Deir el-Balah. Additional beads were discovered in tomb 934 at Tell el-Far'rah. By utilizing scarabs with royal names from the same context, they could be dated to a period between the 19th to the 20th Dynasties (Macdonald, Starkey and Harding 1932, 24–25, pl. LI). The most recent scarabs belong to the reigns of Ramesses III and IV (c. 1221–1150 BC), indicating also that the beads of tomb 934 are approximately contemporaneous with other beads found in tomb 92 at Perati (LH IIIC Middle – Late). Beads of this type could be also found at Cyprus. Some examples from Idalion and from Enkomi come from LC IIIA–B contexts (Dikaïos 1969, I, 273–274). In view of possible links with Greece, one should point to tomb 92 at Perati which yielded not only Late Mycenaean (Helladic) IIIC: 1 pottery which was useful for comparisons with similar vases found at Enkomi but also a necklace made from lotus-seed carnelian beads (Dikaïos, *op. cit.* and Iakovidis 1970, II, 304 and 455). Two more necklaces were found in tomb 9 at Kition (Karageorghis 1974, 92 and footnote 6). This tomb, said to contain Late Mycenaean IIIB pottery in the publication (Karageorghis 1974), was later re-evaluated and is now datable close to further archaeological contexts (tombs) from Palestine, Cyprus and Greece which have yielded similar carnelian

beads or necklaces (French-Åström 1980, 267–269 compare some pottery of tomb 9, *upper burial*, at Kition with LH IIIC Early pottery from Mycenae). Could the sudden appearance of these beads be interpreted once again as a sign of foreign relations which took place contemporaneously?

A third example should be given. For this purpose, three items stemming from five gold earrings have been selected because they are quite similar to Cypriot items and therefore possibly imported (Iakovidis 1970, II, 454–455). More precisely, these three items are gold pendants of formerly complete earrings which were crafted in form of a stylized bull's head. All these items were found in different tombs. An additional wiring for suspension is missing from all three. The first one, which is decorated with elaborate granulation, is noticeably worn (see type 7 of P. Åström's classification, *idem* 1972, 502 and 570–71; see our Fig. 2). This type finds the closest parallel in other earrings which were found, for instance, in the eastern quarter of Enkomi. The second earring has a stamped decoration, also called “repoussé”, in form of some spirals and a central palmette and is slightly damaged (see type 6 of P. Åström's classification, *idem* 1972, 502 and 570; see our Fig. 3). Similar types could be found in Enkomi, for example in Sw. Tomb 19 at Enkomi. More examples could be found during the British excavations undertaken at the same site. Most of them are vaguely dated to be from a period between the 14th and the 12th centuries. Certain specimens, however, are datable close to the end of LC IIC (e.g. the pair of granulated earrings found in Sw. Tomb 11 at Enkomi mentioned above). As a consequence, one might assume that such earrings could still be a result of direct contacts or have been still in use (instead of being “stored antiques”). The third earring is only partially preserved (the lower part is missing) and was not made with much craftsmanship (see our Fig. 4). The stamped decoration is hardly visible. Contrary to our previous examples, this earring whose parts are rather joined together than soldered is completely flat and undecorated on the backside. For a long time, no other, directly comparable pieces could be found neither in Cyprus nor in Greece until a re-evaluation of the so-called “Tiryns Treasure” was carried out (Maran 2006 and in particular Maran 2006, 138). Thus, three similar crafted gold earrings which were surprisingly not mentioned in the publication (Karo 1930) could be found again when examining the photographic documents of the excavation (Maran 2006, 138, fig. 8.4a). Because of the manufacturing technique which is similar to the last-mentioned, rather unique, earring from Perati, it has been suggested that that they could point to a manufacture on the Greek Mainland in Late Helladic IIIC that was imitating Cypriot prototypes (Maran 2006, 137–138, footnote 21). This seems to be a

plausible surmise. On the other hand, this suggestion does not take into account that most of the components of the Tiryns Treasure, such as further gold jewellery, some iron sickles or a bronze tripod, are just the same of Cypriot character which suggests that these objects were acquired through relations with Cyprus.



Figure 1: Carnelian bead (Enkomi, uncertain tomb). British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum.

The Tiryns Treasure reconsidered

In the view of the high proportion of metal products of the Tiryns Treasure which are probably Cypriot or of Cypriot type, one could be tempted to re-examine also the jewellery under the same perspective. But first, it should be mentioned that the metal products of this treasure or hoard are, with a few exceptions which concern primarily two Mycenaean gold signet-rings, dated to c. 1150 BC (*cf.* Maran 2008a, 69 for dating the Tiryns Treasure). Among these objects found

in 1915 in the Lower Town of Tiryns, there are some bronze vases, weapons, jewellery but also some parts of ivory and gold wire (raw materials). Admittedly, the Cypriot provenance of the iron sickle which is part of the hoard seems hypothetical and unsure (see Snodgrass 1971, 221 and 229; Buchholz-Karageorghis 1972, 28, no. 28; Cline 1994, 251, no. 1067 and recently Maran 2006, 140 and footnote 31 with further bibliographical references). Most convincing, however, is a large bronze rod tripod which is considered as an article imported from Cyprus (Matthäus 1985, 305–306, no. k). Other, possibly direct, parallels could be found between two more (partly destroyed) bronze tripod cauldrons from the Tiryns Treasure which could have been prototypes for the later fabrication of Cypriot specimens (Matthäus 1985, 198 and 220–221 and *idem* 1980, 93, no. 27, pl. 4 and 110–111, nos 83–85, pls 11, no. 83 and 12, nos 84–85). Turning to the jewellery finds, a significantly worn-out gold pendant which can be added to our previous examples of gold granulated in form a stylized bull's head is noteworthy (Åström 1972, 571, type 7). Since a wire-ring for suspension is missing, this item was reconstructed as the central part of a necklace of spherical gold beads coming from the same context (Karo 1930, pl. IV). Altogether, four necklaces could be recovered using 390 beads with slightly varying diameters (0,75–0,2/3 cm). A few more necklaces are known which are outstanding with respect to their rare deposition in a single tomb within some LH IIIC or Submycenaean (Subminoan) necropoleis such as Perati and Kos-Langada or the North Cemetery from Knossos on Crete and Athens (Iakovidis 1970, II, 304 and 455; Morricone 1967, 101; Higgins 1996, 539, most recently Ruppenstein 2007, 231). When discussing the necklace from the Knossos North Cemetery, it has been singled out that “Cypriot inspiration is probable” (Higgins 1996, 539 and footnotes 1069–1070). Turning to such discoveries made in Cyprus, it can be added that these necklaces are in fact wide-spread over the island where they occur in LC I–III contexts, e.g. at Enkomi, Kourion, Hala Sultan Tekke, Klavdhia, Maroni, and Dromolaxia (see type 1 of P. Åström's classification, *idem* 1972, 504–5 and 575). One could hint at the gold necklaces found in Br. Tomb 37 and 39 at Enkomi (see our Fig. 5) or also in tomb II from Hala Sultan Tekke which has yielded further parallels to the jewellery from the Tiryns Treasure such as faience beads or a gold pendant in form of a palmette (LCIB–III). Finally, it should be added that most recent excavations in the Lower Town of Tiryns have yielded some more objects (wall brackets, armor scales, etc.) which point to long-distance contacts with Cyprus during LH IIIB and LH IIIC (e.g. Cline 1999, Maran 2004 and Maran 2008b).



Figure 2: Granulated earring (Perati, tomb 11). National Archaeological Museum, Athens © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism / Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 3: Stamped earring (Perati, tomb 152). National Archaeological Museum, Athens © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism / Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 4: Stamped earring (Perati, tomb Σ19). National Archaeological Museum, Athens © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Some links between Early Iron Age Cyprus and Greece: two case examples

Finally, turning to some possible links between Cyprus and Greece during the following Early Iron Age periods, we want to stress some striking evidence found in certain Protogeometric tombs in the Kerameikos Cemetery from Athens. As mentioned before, there are various signs for Cypriot influence on the local pottery style. Among the jewellery found in these tombs, mention should be made of iron dress pins with spherical (pomegranate-shaped) ivory heads as examples (see type B4/c of I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's classification, *idem* 1984, 73–74 and nos 275–288). The dress pins found in Protogeometric tombs 13, 22 and 23 have been preserved only in fragmentary manner and can no longer be considered for discussion. A

dress pin found in Late Submycenaean tomb 113 and a pair of pins found in Protogeometric tomb Gr. hs 92 have been decorated with an ivory head. The first mentioned item, however, is no longer available. Because of the alien materials (iron and ivory) which were used for their fabrication, it has been suggested that such pins were imported via Cyprus (Desborough 1972, 294–300; Snodgrass 1971, in particular 228; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 77–80; Lemos 2002, 107–108 and recently Ruppenstein 2007, 228). This is all the more interesting since the first occurrence of this type of dress pin was in Athens (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 77 and footnote 65). Turning to Cypriot dress pins with ivory heads, it can be stated that simple iron pins with ivory heads occur during the LC III period at Cyprus (see type 1 of P. Åström's classification, *idem* 1972, 474 and 559) and were still in use during CG II (e.g. at Lapithos-Kastros tomb 411). Further examples could be found which, in contrast, are made from bronze and have only a small, biconical head of ivory (e.g. in Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 25, LC III B, Benson 1973, 122). A similar specimen discovered in shaft grave 24 at Enkomi seems rather to be a bronze tool which was made with a bone head (LC IIIB: 1, Dikaios 1969, I, 433). Best parallels were provided by a few tombs at Palaepaphos-Skales and in particular from tomb 86 containing an iron pin with a bone head (Karageorghis 1983, 303). Despite the difficulties to find exact parallels to Cypriot dress pins, it seems important to mention that the Athenian tombs have not only yielded possibly Cypriot pins but also some Cypriot-inspired pottery, a fact which seems to support the present hypothesis of imported jewellery. One of these vases is a neck-handled amphora (without inv. nr.) which was found in Kerameikos tomb Gr. hs 92a (Ruppenstein 2007, 147, pl. 43 and footnote 607). The other vases are a Handmade Burnished Ware pyxis and a Handmade tall amphoriskos which were found in Kerameikos tomb 113. Both vases are comparable with Ware VII (Handmade Black Slip Incised) from Kaloriziki (Smithson 1961, 174–176, inv. 2168 and 2167, pl. 31; see also Pilides 1994, 24 and 76–77 for a discussion).

Turning to the few examples of gold jewellery from the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery, there are two gold finger rings with three or six ridges which were found in Geometric tombs 7 (Fig. 6) and 41. These pieces were compared with Cypriot specimens by their excavator (Kübler 1954, 192–193). In Cyprus, finger rings of this type, however, are not very common (see type 2 of E. Gjerstad's classification, *idem* 1948, 162). One finger ring was found in tomb 9 (*upper burial*) at Kition and dates to c. 1200 BC. One more item was found at Palaepaphos-Skales and belongs to the CGII period. A significant greater number of such finger rings, however, has been found during later excavations carried out at Lefkandi, Euboa, and date to c. 850 BC

(Higgins 1980, 221). The total number of 20 finger rings from Geometric Lefkandi can be completed by four additional pieces of unknown provenance which are part of the A. and P. Canellopoulos collection, Athens (Laffineur 1980, 348 and pl. 6). These items probably represent a local development of goldsmith work. As has been stated for the finger rings from Lefkandi (Higgins, *loc. cit.*), these rings and also their varieties may well be derived from Cypriot models, or are, less probably, descended from a somewhat similar finger ring found in the LH IIIC settlement from Lefkandi (Evely 2006, 289). This could lead to the assumption that the prototype of such kind of adornment comes from Lefkandi. On the other hand, the earliest finger ring with encircling ridges might come from tomb 9 (*upper burial*) at Kition, Cyprus (c. 1200 BC, Karageorghis 1974, 89). Looking for arguments which could support our hypothesis of some contacts between Cyprus and Greece, one should mention that tomb 9 from Kition and rock-cut chamber tombs with long, deep dromoi from Lapithos-Kastros and Palaepaphos-Skales² have sometimes been attributed to Aegean newcomers to Cyprus. Therefore, one might assume that Aegean influence is not limited to pottery and funerary architecture but will also cover further classes of objects such as jewellery.



Figure 5: Necklace of gold beads (Enkomi, tomb 39). British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 6: Gold finger rings (Kerameikos, tomb7). Kerameikos Museum, Athens © 3rd

Conclusions

The aim of this article is to contribute to the achievement of an overall picture of cultural interconnections between Cyprus and Greece at the aftermath of Late Bronze Age. This study, mainly basing on jewellery, shows that such links are less isolated as expected if we include further associated finds – such as pottery or metal products – in our investigation. The items under examination have been recorded at well-known sites where both Cypriot and Aegean elements could be found. As a result it can be concluded that some striking objects, which have been selected for their rare occurrence in Greece and the Aegean, are rather results of direct contacts than antiques from previous periods. These contacts can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, some items could be mentioned which are regarded as imported objects and, therefore, as resulting from trading contacts. Using one of a few bronze bracelets which were found in the shipwreck from Cape Gelidonya as an example, evidence is provided that trade routes still exist at the close of the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand, clear evidence for (reciprocal) trade between Early Iron Age Cyprus and Greece is still lacking due to the absence of a large number of the same, standardised objects. A concentration of Cypriot and Near Eastern objects can only be observed in the Lower Town of LH IIIC Tiryns. But it would be premature to attribute these finds to the presence of a small foreign population group. Instead it can be shown that differ jewellery of Egyptian or Oriental style which was found in LH IIIC tombs from Perati some more parallels with Cyprus. This might be the result of intermarriage with the indigenous population. At Athens and Lefkandi, Cypriot links are still regarded as the most striking evidence for the forthcoming Protogeometric period. The often simplified or flimsy jewellery of this period, however, does no longer provide direct parallels with Cyprus but instead appears to be Cypriot-inspired.

Finally, it should be emphasized that this article focuses on a reassessment of previous hypotheses about links between proto-historic Cypriot and Greek jewellery. To this end, the attempt was made to complete given lists of well-known examples. The key question for future research tasks, however, will be the integration of further excavation material from more recent excavations.³

Site	Object	Period	Reference
Megiddo	bronze bracelets of adjustable size (2 items)	13th century BC	Guy–Engberg 1938, 8, fig. 179
Ras Shamra	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	13th century BC	Schaeffler 1952, 65 (mention)
Kition, T. 9	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	c. 1200 BC	Karageorghis 1974, 64 and 90, pl. CLXVIII
Kourion–Bamboula, T. 101	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	LC (probably LC IIC – IIIA)	Murray–Smith–Walters 1900, 81, no. 1
Enkomi, Trésor de Bronzes Enkomi, settlement	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1) bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	LC IIIB LC III?	Schaeffler 1952, 43, no. 21, fig. 2, pl. III, 9; Courtois 1984, 31, no. 273, fig. 10, 18
Armeni – Prinokephalo, T. 17 Armeni – Prinokephalo, T. 140	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	LMIN IIB LMIN IIB	Effinger 1996, 152, no. Ar 1b, pl. 25, b – c; <i>idem</i> 1996, 136, no. Ar. 9a
Kos–Langada, T. 31	bronze bracelets of adjustable size (2)	LH IIIB/C	Morricone 1967, 158, pl. 158
Cape Gelidonya	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	c. 1200 BC	Bass 1967, 109, no. B 188, figs 120–121a
Troy	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	VIIB (c. 1200 – 1000BC)	Schaeffler 1952, 65 quoting Schmidt 1902, 261
Perati, T. 131 Perati, T. 124	bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1) bronze bracelet of adjustable size (1)	LH IIIC (2) LH IIIC (1)	Iakovidis 1969, I, 453 and 455, M 174; 1970, II, 297, 454; and 1969, III, pl. 136 α; <i>idem</i> 1969, I, 453 and 455, M 158; 1970, II, 297, 454; vol. III, pl. 129 δ

Table 1: A Mediterranean-wide exchange system: some traces of circulation.

Site	Object	Period	Reference
Perati, T. 30	Egyptian figurative amulets made of faience (11 items)	LH IIIC (2 – 3)	Iakovidis 1969, I, 304, Δ 69-75; 1970, II, 315 and 456; 1969, III, pl. 91
Enkomi, Area I, room 12	Egyptian figurative amulet made of grey-blue paste (1)	LC IIIA	Dikaio 1969, I, 274; 1971, II, 673, no. 254; 1969, IIIa, 161, 65
Enkomi, Area III, room 72	Egyptian figurative amulet made of white paste (1)	LC IIIA	<i>idem</i> 1969, I, 274; 1970, II, 696, no. 3035; 1969, IIIa, 161, 74a
Megiddo	Egyptian figurative amulets made of faience	Stratum VII (c. 1350 – 1150 BC)	Höbl 1987, 125 – 126 (mention)
Deir-el-Balah, T. 116	carneian beads in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (7 + 2 items)	LBA/EIA	Dothan 1979, 43, pls 107 – 108
Tell el-Far'rah, T. 934	carneian beads in the form of a lotus-seed vessel	19th to 20th Dynasties (until 1150 BC)	Macdonald, Starkey and Harding 1932, 24 – 25, pl. I.I)
Perati, T. 92	carneian beads in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (8) and spherical beads (9)	LH IIIC (2 – 3)	Iakovidis 1969, I, 204, A 185-191, A192, A193 – 201; 1970, II, 304, 463; 1969, III, pl. 61a
Idalion, acropolis	carneian beads in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (1 + 1)	LC IIIA/B	Gjerstad 1948, 561, no. 1152b and 562, no. 562, pl. CLXXXIV.27
Enkomi, Area III, room 44	carneian bead in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (1)	LC IIIA:1	Dikaio 1969, I, 273 – 274; 1971, II, 685, no. 1497; 1969, IIIa, pl. 161, 49
Enkomi, Area I, room 43	carneian bead in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (1)	LC IIIB	Dikaio 1969, I, 290, 1971, II, 729, no. 1149; 1969, IIIa, pl. 167, 46
Enkomi, Area I, room 39	carneian beads in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (8)	LC IIIB	Dikaio 1969, I, 290; 1971, II, 729, no. 878/1; 1969, IIIa, pl. 167, 48a
Enkomi, uncertain tomb	carneian bead in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (1)	LC	Marshall 1969, 42, no. 639
Kitron, T. 9	carneian beads in the form of a lotus-seed vessel (5 + 2)	c. 1200 BC	Karageorghis 1974, 72, no. 166 and 79 – 80, no. 306, both on pl. LXXXVIII

Table 2: Late Bronze Age Aegyptiaca, Orientalia, and Cyprica.

Perati, T. 11	granulated gold pendant (earring) in the form of a bucranium (1 item)	LH IIIC (2)	Iakovidis 1969, I, 314-316, M. 39; 1970, II, 454; 1969, III, pl. 97b
Enkomi, Sw. T. 11 Perati, T. 152	granulated gold earrings in the form of a bucranium (2) gold pendant (earring) with stamped decoration (1)	end of LC IIIC LH IIIC (1-2)	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934, 517, no. 39, pl. CXLIV Iakovidis 1969, I, 54, M. 221; 1970, II, 297-298 and 454-455; 1969, III, pl. 15a;
Enkomi, Sw. T. 19	gold earrings with stamped decoration (2)	LC II	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934, 563-564, no. 76, pl. CXLV, 12
Perati, T. Σ 19	gold pendant (earring) with stamped decoration (1)	TH III	Iakovidis 1969, I, 183, M. 91; 1970, II, 454-455; 1969, III, pl. 50y
Tiryns Treasure	gold pendant (earring) with only slightly visible decoration, stamped or repoussé (3)	LH IIIC	Maran 2006, 137-138, fig. 8, 4a
Tiryns Treasure	granulated gold pendant (earring) in the form of a bucranium (1)	LH IIIC	Karo 1930, 124-125, no. 6212, fig. 1, pl. IV

Table 3: Late Bronze Age Aegyptiaca, Orientalia, and Cypriaca

Site	Object	Period	Reference
Tiryns Treasure	spherical gold beads (4 necklaces consisting of 71, 73, 72 or 172 beads)	LH IIIC	Karo 1930, 124, no. 6212, pl. IV
Perati, T. 147	spherical gold beads (1 necklace, 87 beads)	LH IIIC (1)	Iakovidis 1969, I, 119-122, M. 199; 1970, II, 504 and 455; 1969, III, pl. 36
Kos-Iunguda, T. 10	spherical gold beads (1 necklace consisting of 44 beads)	LH III A-C (context) ¹	Moricone 1967, 101, pl. 83 (below)
Knossos North Cemetery, T. 200	spherical gold beads (1 necklace consisting of 81 beads)	SUBMIN	Coldstream – Catling 1996, 194, no. 8 and 539, fig. 153, pl. 265
Athens (Kerameikos), I. 136	spherical gold beads (1 necklace consisting of 140 beads)	SUBMYC	Ruppenstein 2007, 24, no. 19a and 231, pl. 30

Table 4: The Tiryns Treasure reconsidered

¹ One of the accompanying objects is a LH IIIC fibula.

Site	Object	Period	Reference
Athens (Kerameikos), T. 7	gold finger rings with three encircling ridges and repoussé dots (2 items)	PG/G (10th century BC)	Kübler 1954, 23, no. M, 72 – 73 and 192 – 193, pl. 159
Athens (Kerameikos), T. 41	gold finger ring with six encircling ridges (1)	G. (c. 900 – 850 BC)	Kübler 1954, 23, M 46, 25, 192, and 236, pl. 159
Lapithos-Kastros, T. 417	gold finger rings with three encircling ridges (2)	CG I	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934, 228, nos 18 – 19, pl. CLIV
Lapithos-Kastros, T. 425	gold finger rings with three encircling ridges (2)	CG II	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934, 250, pl. LV
Palaepaphos-Skales, T. 79	gold finger rings with three encircling ridges (2)	CG II	Karageorghis 1983, 245, nos 55 and 62, pl. CLV, fig. CLVI
Lefkandi, Skoubris Cemetery Pyre 4	gold finger rings with double carination (5)	SUBPG II (c. 875 – 850BC)	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 136, nos 4 – 7, fig. 113, pl. 222
Lefkandi, Toumba Cemetery T. 13	gold finger rings with double carination (2)	SUBPG II	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 175, nos 19 – 20, fig. 173, pl. 221e
T. 32	gold finger rings with double carination (3)	SUBPG II – III	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 187, nos. 2 – 3 and 5, pl. 230f
T. 32	gold finger rings with three encircling ridges (2)	SUBPG II – III	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 187, nos. 6 – 7, pl. 230g
T. 59	gold finger rings with four encircling ridges (4)	SUBPG III (c. 850 – 750 BC)	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 131, nos. 20 – 23 (without illustrations)
T. 59	gold finger ring with five encircling ridges (1)	SUBPG III	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 131, no. 10, pl. 230h
T. 59	gold finger ring with six encircling ridges (1)	SUBPG III	Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 131, no. 19, pl. 230i
Lefkandi, settlement	gold finger ring with three rounded ridges (1)	LH IIIC	Evely 2006, 289, no. 8.10/11.2b (fig. 5.9, 15)
Kition, T. 9	gold finger ring with double carination (1)	c. 1200 BC	Karageorghis 1974, 75, no. 220, pl. XCII

Table 5: Some links between Early Iron Age Cyprus and Greece: two case examples.

Site	Object	Period	Reference
Athens (Kerameikos), T. 113	iron pin with ivory head (1 item)	Late SUBMYC	Smithson 1961, 175
Athens (Kerameikos), T. Gr. bs 92a	iron pin with ivory head (1)	PG	Schlörb-Vienneisel 1966, 7, no. 5, 1
Enkomi, O. T. 74	iron pin with ivory head (1)	LC III	Murray, Smith and Walters 1900, 54
Lapithos-Kastros, T. 411	iron pin with ivory head (1)	CG II	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934, 215, pl. C.III.3
Enkomi, shaft grave 24	iron pin (or tool) with bone head (1)	LC IIIB:1	Dikaios 1969, 1, 433, vol. IIIa, pl. 220, no. 8 (1348)
Kourion-Kaloriziki, T. 25	bronze pin with ivory head (1)	LC IIIB	Benson 1973, 34, no. K 1062 and 122, pl. 40
Palaepaphos-Skales, T. 86	iron pin with bone head (1)	CG III	Karageorghis 1983, 303, no. 6, C.I.XXX

Table 6: Some links between Early Iron Age Cyprus and Greece: two case examples.

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1 Trade activity is also confirmed by the presence of a large set of small balance-pan weights (Bass 1967, 135–142, 163).

2 Tomb 417 from Lapithos-Kastros is a good example for this (e.g. Crilaard 1998, 188). Tomb 79 from Palaepaphos-Skales has in turn yielded some jewellery which is quite similar to several pieces from Lapithos-Kastros (Karageorghis 1983, in particular 242–247 and pl. CLV).

3 From 2007 to 2013, the author was an Austrian PhD student at the Université Aix-Marseille I, France, where her thesis project about ancient jewellery of Cyprus from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period was held at the MMSH, Centre Camille Jullian. Sincere thanks are given to the doctoral thesis supervisor Prof. A. Hermay. Furthermore I am grateful to the Director of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, to the Department of Greece and Rome and the Free Image Service at the British Museum, London, and to the Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens, for the permission to use six photos as illustrations of the present article (photos 2–4 and 6 provided by the author, photos 1 and 5 provided by the British Museum database http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum.aspx edited by Th. Kiely).

Ship graffiti in context: a preliminary study of Cypriot patterns

Maria Michail

The word “graffiti” is commonly used by archaeologists to describe the informal and quickly executed iconographic representations of objects, people, animals and various scenes from the daily life in antiquity (Baird and Taylor 2011, 3; Bon 1995, 172; Christensen 1995, 181). In other words, archaeologists mostly use the word “graffiti” so as to describe a simple expression of art, which is usually carved or scratched into plaster, stone, ceramic or wood, not necessarily done by craftsmen. However, some archaeologists use it not only to describe carved or scratched images, but to describe pictorial drawings as well (Baird and Taylor 2011, 3; Imhaus 2001, 178–179, 186; Imhaus and Bollon 2009, 426–427).

According to the previous studies, ship graffiti seem to be a neglected subject for study in Cyprus and generally in the eastern Mediterranean (Artzy 1987; Artzy 1999; Basch and Artzy 1985, 322–336; Imhaus 2001; Imhaus and Bollon 2009; Schaeffer 1952, 99–104; Trentin and Hadjikyriakos 2007; Wachsmann 1997, 142–149), as only a small number of them have been properly studied and recorded so far, while it seems that there is not a comprehensive corpus of them. The majority of them were found and recorded during excavations, surveys or conservative work within archaeological sites (Basch and Artzy 1985, 322–336; Schaeffer 1952, 99–104; Kahanov and Stern 2008, 21–35; Kahanov, Shotten-Hallel and Cvikel 2008, 389–405). Therefore, records of ship graffiti often comprise parts of archaeological reports on excavations or related articles. In these publications, ship graffiti are rarely photographed or analysed within their individual archaeological context (Bucherie and Gonzalez 2000; Imhaus 2001; Imhaus and Bollon 2009; Helms 1975; Kingsley 1997; Woolner 1957). In conclusion, previous studies have mainly perceived them as individual objects in specific sites and not as an ensemble. Due to this, their value as evidence for the ancient societies is not fully grasped.

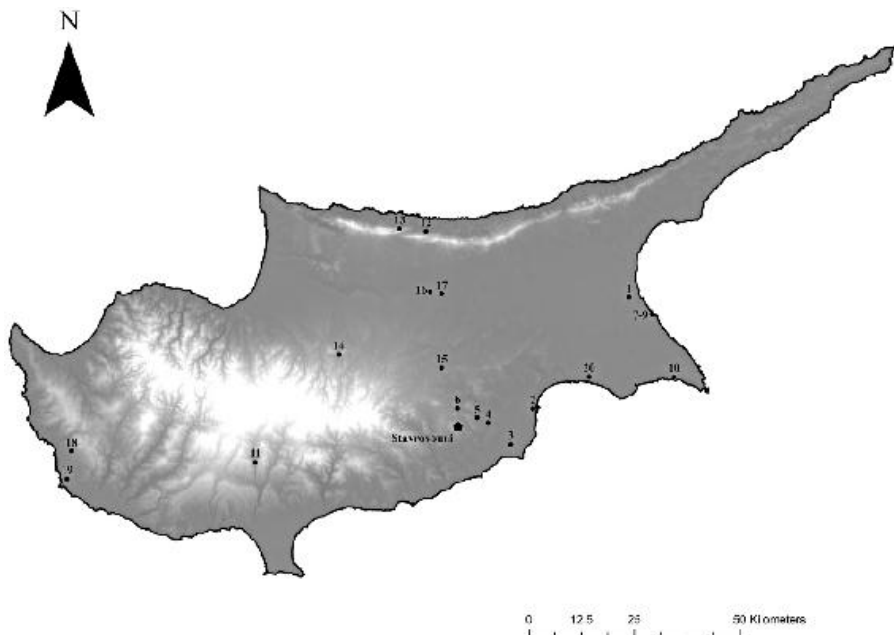


Figure 1: A map of Cyprus, which shows the distribution of definite ship graffiti's sites. Numbers on the map correspond with the site names in Table 1 (Drawing by the present author. Digital geological data from the Geological Survey Department of Cyprus).

Moreover, scholars that have addressed ship graffiti have chiefly used them as a source of technical information for understanding shipbuilding (Basch and Artzy 1985; Basch 1987; Meinardus 1970, 29–52; Wachsmann 1997). Some of them attempted to give a more subjective representation of graffiti, but they usually interpreted them as *ex-votos*, especially if ship graffiti were located within ritual contexts (Getakos 1956; Woolner 1957). However, examining only one aspect of this practice is simply insufficient. On the contrary, the examination of the relationship they share with other objects found with them at the same place and into their individual geographical, social and historical contexts can allow finer interpretations of them (Baird and Taylor 2011, 3).

According to scholars, who study contemporary graffiti, the latter are based on real life. Consequently, they comprise a vast combination of meanings, which can be distinguished if one looks at the circumstances that form the settings for the creation of graffiti and attempts to transform these meanings that lie behind them, into physical reality (Frederick 2009, 212–214; Johnson 1999, 107; Orenge and Robison 2008). According to Frederick (2009, 213), “graffiti may be more effectively aligned with ideas of how human beings perceive and interact with their living environment; how they signal their inhabitation of or transit through the place; and how they

gesture to ownership, occupation and even, or especially, arrival". As a result, this complex mark-making phenomenon of painting text or images is a means of expression and communication, which is always perceived differently depending on the quality of the spectatorship. For example, graffiti have different meanings for their artist, who mostly intends to express an idea or to establish an identity and a different meaning, from other people, who might comprehend this kind of activity as an act of vandalism (Frederick 2009, 212; Parno 2010, 62).



Figure 2: A schematic ship graffiti, which is found on the south wall of Temple 1, at ancient Kition. The projection, which distinguishes on the left-hand end of the ship, has interpreted as ram (Basch and Artzy 1985, 330, 332).

Aims and research questions

Based on the literature review and the methodological issues that are introduced above, this article is a preliminary attempt to present and discuss twenty examples of Cypriot ship graffiti (see Table 1), which are likely to be destroyed by human activities and weather conditions over time. These examples are viewed side-by side in order to view them as a practice within a wider context.

Furthermore, this article aims to examine Cypriot ship graffiti in their context (geographical, spatial, chronological/historical, and social) and understand the motives behind their creation. This examination can also contribute to a better understanding of ship graffiti in ritual structures and not as a mere interpretation of *ex-votos*.

Moreover, the theoretical background of the study of contemporary graffiti can provoke various thoughts about how the research of ancient iconographic representations of ships can be developed. Also, the research on ship graffiti raises some question. Thus, the present author is compelled to study them in their context and seeks answers to the following thirteen questions: what is the relationship between ship graffiti and their environment (context); are they found in specific areas or structures; why did people decide to create them in

these contexts or what meanings did they want to express with this practice; who were their creators; were they people who knew about the sea and were they amateur or professional artists; can ship graffiti help to comprehend the technology of ships and how can this information help to understand their relation to their context; can ship graffiti be dated accurately; are they from all the periods or do they exist only in particular periods and if they exist in different periods, why were ship graffiti of different periods located in the same area?



Figure 3: A schematic and not detailed ship graffiti, which is found in the “Royal Chapel” at Pyrga. It shows only the outlines of the hull of a ship (Photographing by the present author, 2010).

In this article, the author attempts to answer the aforementioned questions. However, complete accuracy is difficult task in this case, because the author does not come from the same context in which these representations were created, as societies and human beliefs change over time. Ship graffiti, as material culture generally, can be also interpreted in many different ways by different scholars, because they come from different academic or social backgrounds.

Data and methodology

As indicated above, the purpose of this article is to examine ship graffiti from Cyprus. The compilation of sampling that has been gathered so far is chiefly based on the results of the research of author's master dissertation (Michael 2010). There is, however, a

possibility that many ship graffiti have not yet been studied or found across the island.

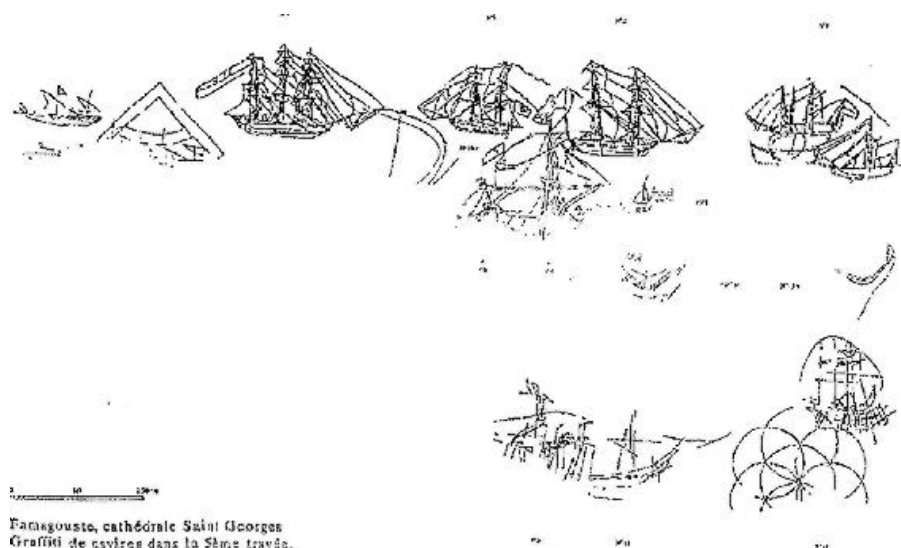


Figure 4: Ship Graffiti on the fifth register of the north wall in the church of Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta. The majority of these ships represent ships with huge hulls, which have two or three masts that probably carry more than two or three square sails. According to these features, these ships are probably dated in the Ottoman period and especially in the nineteenth century AD (Imhaus 2001, 192).

Twenty examples of ship graffiti have been collected and are presented in detail in Table 1. Of these twenty examples, only some that are able to give more definitive answers to the questions raised in this article are discussed.

The choice of these distinct examples has been chiefly based on their good-quality preservation and their detailed attribution. They have been also chosen according to the quantity and the quality of the information about their geographical, spatial and social contexts.

Nonetheless, ship graffiti that are examined in this article are scratched representations of ships on the walls of different structures. Only three examples are pictorial drawings (see Table 1). Some representations are simplified versions of the actual ship and some of them are more detailed.

According to their geographical context, the twenty sites, where ship graffiti are located, are scattered across the island (Fig. 1; see Table 1). They are located not only on the coastline, but also at the hinterland.

Furthermore, ship graffiti are primarily located in ritual structures intermittently during a long time span within the spatial frame of Cyprus. They cover a wide chronological range, for they date from the

Bronze Age to the Ottoman period. The majority of them date from Byzantine to Ottoman period. They do not, however, represent all the periods, as a big gap exists between the Bronze Age and the Byzantine period, probably due to the limited research into the field of ship graffiti. As it will be later on presented, the dating of ship graffiti is relevant, as it depends on the typology of the ship, whether that is detailed, or on the dating of ship graffiti's spatial context.

In my attempt to offer a contextual interpretation of the data above, the following methodology has been applied. Geographical and historical maps have been examined, in order to understand the distribution of ship graffiti. Moreover, the social and chronological contexts of the sites, where ship graffiti are found, have been investigated, as this examination can help in understanding the reasons behind their creation, the meanings that this practice was meant to express or the identity of their creator. This information has been collected from the study of textual and archaeological evidence. Finally, the more detailed ship graffiti have been examined typologically, in order to understand if they can be used as a source of information regarding shipbuilding or to estimate an approximate dating to these representations. In the framework of this work, comparative evidence of pictorial or carved representations of ships has been used.

Cypriot ship graffiti in context: Evidence and discussion

As stated above, the majority of ship graffiti that are presented in this article are mainly scratched representations of ships on the walls of edifices. Most of them, especially the earliest examples, are schematic in style (Fig. 2). They illustrate a simplified form of ship which expresses only the most characteristic features and lines of the ship (Fig. 3). However, some features (Fig. 4), such as sails or masts, are represented in a more detailed fashion, than other features, probably because they attracted more of their creator's attention. The fact that ship graffiti do not present the ship in a real scale, while their views are always in profile or above waterline, also serves to prove that ship graffiti do not necessarily present the correct dimensions of a ship or an accurate position of its features, such as the sails (Villain-Gandossi 1994, 172–174). According to these inaccuracies, it is difficult to understand the authentic attribution of ships or the exact types of ships using ship graffiti; it is obvious that scholars must use this source of information for ship technology with attention, while the interpretation probably comes from the comparison of other

iconographic representations or of the archaeological evidence (Basch 1987; McGrail 2001, 80–165; Prins 1995, 77).



Figure 5: The ship graffito that is found in the castle of Saint Hilarion (Imhaus 2001, 198).

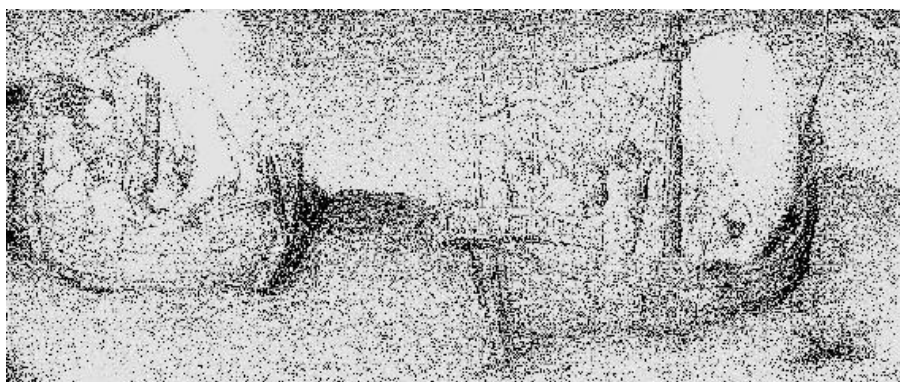


Figure 6: Two ships of the type of cog. On the stern, the tower-like structure is distinguished in both ships, as happened to the ship graffito that is found in the castle of Saint Hilarion, while the projection on the bow is also distinguished (Woodman 1997, 41).

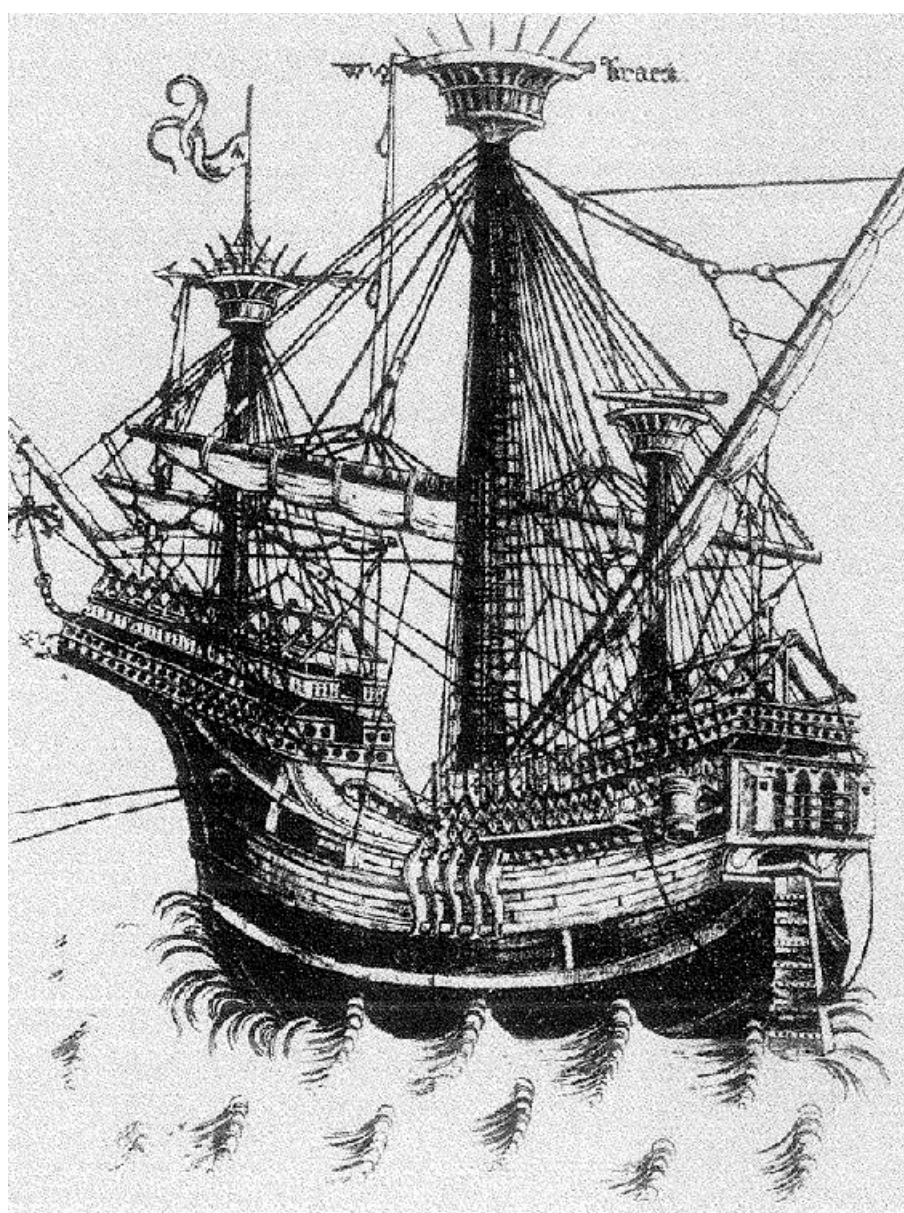
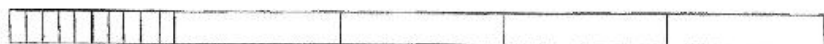


Figure 7: A Flemish representation of a carrack. The carrack was the precursor of the three-masted, full-rigged ship (Woodman 2005, 52 – 53).



NAVIRES, FAMAGOUSTE ST GEORGES, abside sud

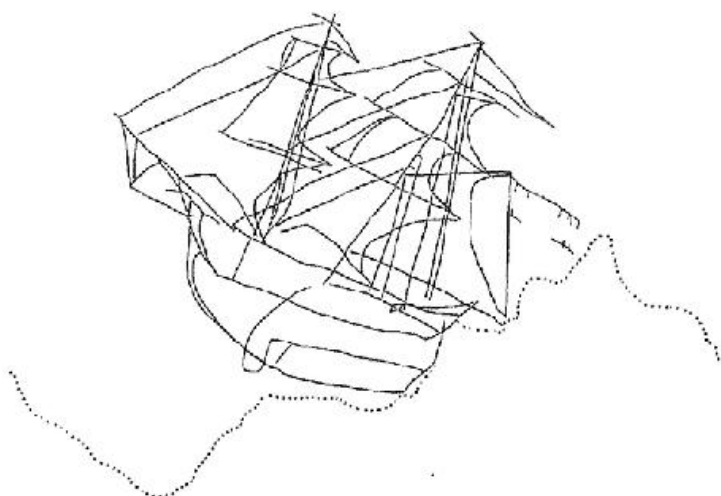


Figure 8: A sketch of a ship graffiti that is found on the fresco of the south apse in the church of Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta. Two masts with square sails are distinguished, while at the right-hand end of the hull, a trapezium probably represents the spanker (Imhaus 2001, 194).

Additionally, dating ship graffiti based on their typology is rather troublesome, since, as already mentioned, these are most of the time too schematic to give the exact type of a ship. However, if their creator had carved a particular feature of the ship, such as the sails, it would have been easier to date them, and this would have been fine evidence so as to examine if these representations were created in the same period as the structure in which they were found.

For instance, the pictorial ship graffiti (Fig. 5), which was located in the castle of Saint Hilarion, represents a ship with a thick hull, which has a projection on its bow and probably a rudder on its stern. Unfortunately, it is not obvious if it represents a masted ship. Compared to other representations of ships (Martin 2001, 89, 94, 135; Pryor 1994, 69) it probably represents a medieval ship. It is likely to show a cog (Fig. 6) or the Mediterranean equivalent ship of a cog, the *cocha*, or a carrack (Fig. 7), as these types of ships form projections or castles on the bow or stern (Andela 2001). The absence of the mast, however, does not aid in identifying the exact type of the ship; if it had a single mast, it would be a cog, but if it was a three or four-masted sailing ship, it would present a carrack (Andela 2001). Despite these difficulties in its interpretation, if it represented a cog or a

cocha, it would be dated in the twelfth century AD, when the cog was introduced in the Mediterranean (Martin 2001, 177; Pryor 1992, 39). According to Woodman (2005, 57), by the time of the Crusades, the cog had appeared in the Mediterranean and by the early fourteenth century AD it had become a common feature. Nevertheless, if it represented a carrack, it would be dated from fourteenth to seventeenth centuries AD (Kemp 1976, 141). Comparing this relevant dating of ship graffito to the chronological context of the castle, which was built in the eleventh century AD and abandoned in the fourteenth century AD, it seems that the ship graffito can be created during the usage of this building or after its dereliction; but not at the same period with its foundation.

Furthermore, a ship graffito from the church of Saint George of the Greeks (Fig. 8) can prove that, if ship graffiti are detailed enough, they allow for some crucial information regarding their dating. It has two masts, which probably carry more than two or three square sails; bearing this in mind, one can claim that the hull grew in size and the length of masts was increased with the addition of a topmast and the increase of the number of sails set on each mast (Kemp 1976, 703). According to Kemp (1976, 704), the consequent large increase in hull size and the new sail plans were results of the great development of world trade during the nineteenth century AD. Thus, it seems that this graffito is dated in that century.

Finally, in the church at the Klavdia village, the two ship graffiti on the north interior wall of the church are more detailed than the other two on the west exterior wall of the church. Consequently, they can provide some information about the type of ships they present and their details can help in dating them. One of them presents a big four-masted ship (Fig. 9), while the attribution of the anchor of the other one seems to correspond to a nineteenth-century iron anchor (Fig. 10; Fig. 11; Steffy 1994, 282–283). According to this information, they are probably dated in the nineteenth century AD.

Taking aforementioned examples into consideration, it is obvious that questions which aim to answer whether the typological and material examination of ship graffiti can give information about the technology of ships, or whether it can help with their accurate dating, cannot be answered with certainty. Nonetheless, the detailed attribution of ship graffiti can just give some information about the shipbuilding and sometimes a relevant dating. Additionally, it seems that if the representation of ship graffiti is not detailed, ship graffiti are dated according to the chronological context of the structure in which they are situated (e.g. the cases of ship graffiti in Enkomi and Kition).

Furthermore, Baird and Taylor (2011, 3) indicate that the

investigation of ship graffiti must not focus only on the aspects of their materiality (e.g. their attribution and their typology), but on the spaces in which such representations exist as well. As a result, analyses of their geographical and spatial contexts can successfully reveal possibilities in understanding their value in antiquity.

According to the examination of their geographical context, ship graffiti, as mentioned above, can be found either on the coastline or inland (Fig. 1). Ship graffiti that are found near the sea or the coastline can be interpreted differently than those found at some distance from the sea. The appearance of a ship graffiti in a place near the sea can be interpreted as a result of the proximity of the site with the sea, because the ship is a means of transport of people and products through the sea. However, if ship graffiti are found far away from the sea, then other reasons must be sought, so as to explain and justify their appearance within this geographical context.

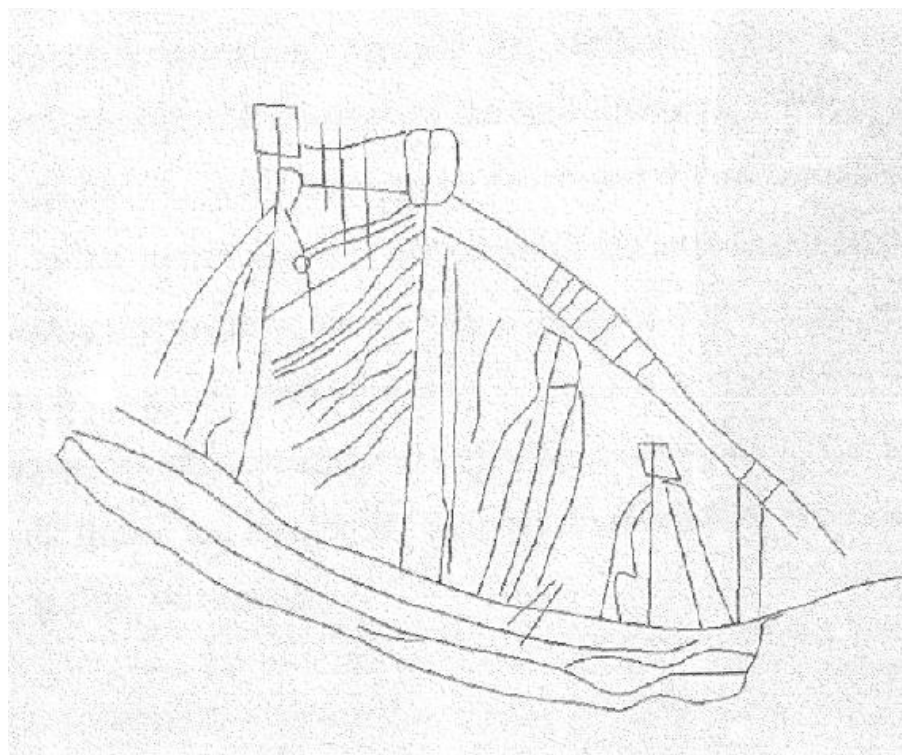


Figure 9: A sketch of the ship graffiti, which is found on the north interior wall of the church at the Klavdia village. It shows a four-masted ship (Drawing by the present author).

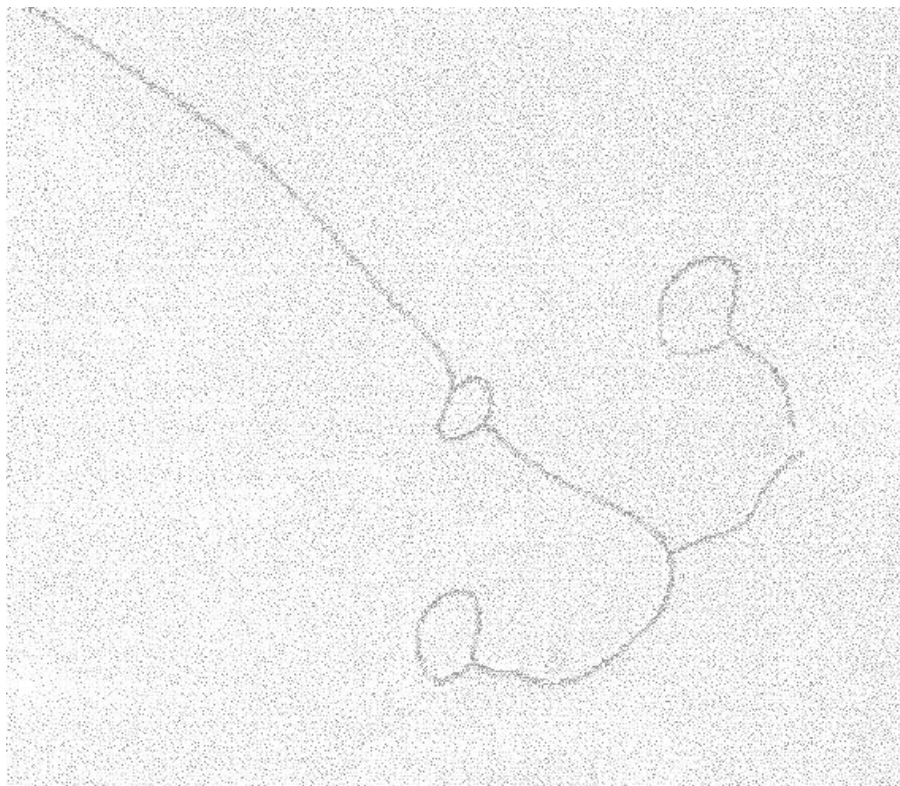


Figure 10: The detailed attribution of the anchor of the ship graffito, which is found on the north interior wall of the church at the Klavdia village (Drawing by the present author).

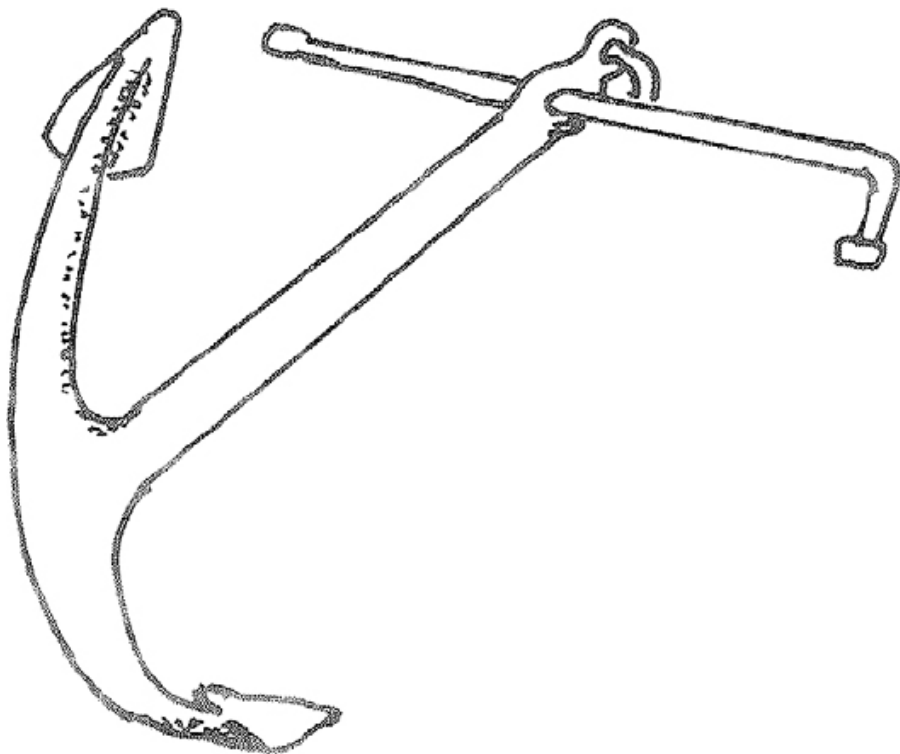


Figure 11: A nineteenth-century iron anchor most commonly known fisherman's anchor (Steffy 1994, 283).

The castle of Saint Hilarion and the abbey of Bellapais, for example, are located in the mountainous district of Kyrenia, which is inland, but both are visible from the sea. These may have functioned as landmarks for seamen when approaching the harbour of Kyrenia. Up to the present, seamen have used inland points, such as churches or natural settings, in order to find anchorages or harbours (Cariolou 2010, Pers. Com.). Furthermore, ship graffiti have been found in natural settings that were probably used as landmarks (Artzy 1999, 24–25; Marangou 2001). Consequently, the fact that these monuments may have been used for navigational purposes by seamen possibly indicates a maritime perspective of these places and explains why these iconographic representations of ships appear there.

There are, however, some ship graffiti that are carved in places that are not visible from the sea. For instance, the church of Panagia Angeloktisti is located at the village of Kiti in the inland area of the Cape Kiti at the southern coast of Cyprus. Although it is located inland and it is not visible from the sea, it is adjacent to the area of the Salines, where an anchorage was located (Nicolau 1976, 16, 26). This anchorage composed one of the most important harbours of Cyprus – probably the harbour of Larnaca – from the Frankish period,

because Larnaca became an important commercial centre of the island after the decline of the harbour of Famagusta in the fourteenth century AD (Marangou 1997, 193–194). Furthermore, many European consuls, pilgrims and travellers visited Larnaca during the Venetian and Ottoman periods (Ioannou 2003, 168–169; Marangou 1997, 194–197). Pietro delle Valle, a traveller mentions that travellers could ride a horse from the anchorage and visit other places nearby it (Cobham 1969, 211). Therefore, travellers probably visited Kiti and created these representations in this monument.

Moreover, the church at Klavdia, the “Royal Chapel” at Pyrga and the church of Panagias Stazousas are located far away from the sea. The appearance of ship graffiti within this geographical context is probably not accidental, as the churches are located on the road which leads to the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni (Fig. 1). This is one of the most important monasteries on the island and, as Schryver and Schabel (2003, 333) mentioned, many pilgrims visited it in order to see the piece of the Holy Cross that is kept within the Monastery. Pilgrims, who were stationed in Cyprus during their trips to the Holy Land and visited this monastery, probably created these representations of ships in these churches as *ex-votos*. This assumption can be justified using the example of the “Royal Chapel” at Pyrga. In this case, ship graffiti were carved within the same spatial context with commemorative graffiti recording the visit of pilgrims, various events or the dissatisfaction of the believers to heretics (Shryver & Schabel 2003, 33–333; Trentin 2010, 300, 313). Nonetheless, claiming that this is fully accurate is, at this point, rather impossible, because the date of the ship graffiti’s creation probably differs from the date of alphabetic graffiti. It seems, however, that the appearance of ship graffiti in a specific geographical context depends not only on the maritime character of the geographical context, but also on reasons related to the belief system. Additionally, it seems that the geographical context of some sites in which ship graffiti are found can attribute to the interpretation of these graffiti.

Furthermore, it is essential for one to examine if ship graffiti appear in specific structures for understanding the motives behind their creation and the messages they communicate. This is because the examination of ship graffiti in different structures can provide a variety of interpretations, as these structures are dated in different periods, located in different spatial context and associated with different social groups and historical events. In Cyprus, as mentioned, the majority of ship graffiti are located in ritual structures, while there are one example in military/defensive structure and one in a residence (see Table 1). However, as it has been previously pointed out, these graffiti cannot only be interpreted as *ex-votos*, which is the

interpretation that previous studies have given them.

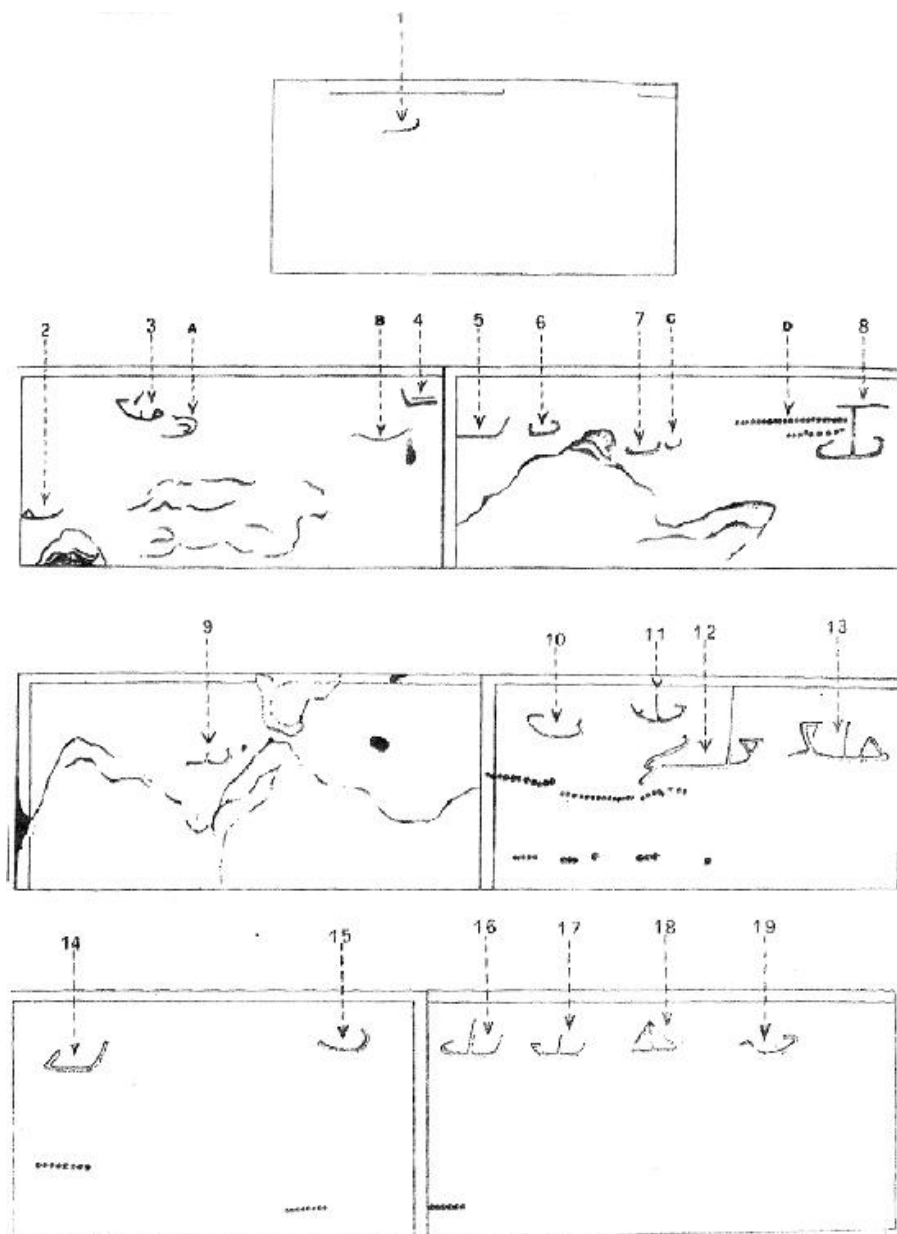


Figure 12: Drawing of ship graffiti on the south wall of Temple 1 at ancient Kition.

Excavators attributed a terminus post quem to 1200 BC, the date of the wall construction. (Basch and Artzy 1985, 324, 330).

Additional interpretations can be acquired that can be presented clearly using three examples.

First, ship graffiti at the churches of Famagusta cannot be

interpreted as *ex-votos*. Ship graffiti at the church of Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta, according to their descriptions (Fig. 4; Fig. 8), seem to be dated in the Ottoman period, although they are located within a church that was built in the fourteenth century AD (Enlart 1987, 253–255). During the Ottoman period, the city of Famagusta was occupied by Ottomans, who prohibited Christians stay or visit the city, while they also prohibited Christian ships from approaching the harbours (Marangou and Coutas 2005, 56). The port of Famagusta had become usable only by small vessels and was much filled up. Consequently, the city was declined (Martin 1998, 39–40). Only in 1885 did the city start to develop again, as the new harbour was designed. Furthermore, the church was probably abandoned after 1571, which was the year when it was damaged in the Ottoman bombardment (Enlart 1987, 254). According to this information, one could wonder what the reason was to have caused their creation in a ruined church. This question is difficult to be answered, but archaeologists can assume all the possible interpretations (Michael 2010, 77–89; Walsh 2008, 122–124).

According to the existing evidence, it is more possible that their creators were Ottomans than Christians. However, if their creators were Ottomans, it is valid to ask why they decided to carve graffiti in a ruined Christian church? Did they create them as *ex-votos*, because they probably believed that, through religion, there might be some advantages to placing this image in a ruined house of god? Why not choose one of their mosques located within the city or in the byzantine church of Saint Nicholas, who is worshiped as the Saint of seamen? Did they have other reasons to create them in this area rather than in other context? The fact that they did not repair the church after its destruction in 1571 and transformed the Cathedral of Saint Nicholas into a mosque probably proves that Ottomans did not respect the Christian cult. Thus, ship graffiti were probably the result of an anti-social action, as it is perceived nowadays, but this statement is just an assumption.

The second example is the evidence of ship graffiti at the church at Klavdia. In this church, ship graffiti can also be interpreted as indicators of the transition between the inhabitants of the Klavdia village and the changes that took place in this church over time. In this church, which was probably built during the fourteenth century AD and then transformed in a mosque during the Ottoman period (Kousiapa 2005–2006), four ship graffiti are found, as mentioned above. According to their aforementioned description, the two on the interior wall can be dated in the Ottoman period, while the other two are not well preserved; for this reason, it is not clear if they are dated in the same period, which allows for two possible readings. First, if

they are dated in the same period, then ship graffiti were probably created by Ottomans, because, according to tradition, the village had been probably inhabited solely by Ottomans since 1821 (Kousiapa 2005–2006). They were probably created as *ex-votos*, because they were created by Ottomans within a mosque. Secondly, if they are not dated in the same period, they could have been created by the Cypriots or the pilgrims on their way to Stavrovouni. Consequently, if ship graffiti were created by these social groups, they probably hold a different meaning and interpretation, which is difficult to find due to the limited evidence.

The last example comes from the Late Bronze Age site of Kition (Fig. 12). Although ship graffiti in this site are not dated in the same chronological period with the aforementioned ones and they cannot have any comparison or association with them, these ship graffiti can be also used as an argument, in order to prove that ship graffiti located in ritual structures cannot be interpreted only as *ex-votos*. Ship graffiti at Kition can be interpreted as indicators of commercial and trading activities as well. This is possible if archaeologists consider not only the fact that they are located in temples, but that they are also associated with the copper workshops and the commercial and trading activities that took part in the nearby harbour (Webb 1999, 64–84).

Overall, despite the lack of certainty in these interpretations, these examples can prove that ship graffiti can also express different meanings if they are found on the same type of structures. Yet, the fact that Cypriot ship graffiti are especially located on ritual structures probably makes scholars question whether ship graffiti are only located in specific places. Based on other examples in other geographical areas, a similar situation may also apply in the case of Greece, where ship graffiti chiefly appear in churches (Meinardus 1970). Also, in Puerto Rico, ship graffiti are usually found in specific types of structure, this time however mainly within military structures (Rivera-Collazo 2006). On the other hand, in Israel, they are found in a variety of sites (Artzy 1999; Broshi 1977; Kahanov & Stern 2008; Kahanov, Shotten-Hallel & Cvikel 2008; Kloner & Wachsmann 1978). Therefore, one could wonder why they are found only in some geographical areas, yet in a variety of sites, whereas in other geographical areas, graffiti are limited to particular structures. Is this phenomenon dependent on the geography of some areas or on other reasons, such as the particular periods that these graffiti are carved or the social context in which they were created?

Perhaps, this phenomenon depends on social groups that were active in different geographical areas, who created them in these particular structures for different reasons. If one considers that nowadays, graffiti are created by specific social groups, which have

their own belief systems and can use graffiti as a way to express their opinion about their society, one can probably come to an understanding as to why ship graffiti appear in particular structures in specific geographical areas. Additionally, their appearance in some particular structures in some specific geographical areas is probably the result of the limited research that has been done in the field of the study of ship graffiti. Consequently, much more research is needed before attempting to answer these questions.

Furthermore, this phenomenon does not seem to depend on the fact that ship graffiti are found in particular periods, for they are found in different periods. Their appearance in different periods in the same geographical context is probably not accidental. For instance, the Bronze Age site of Enkomi and the churches at Famagusta are located in the same geographical context, while the Bronze Age site of Kition is located in the same geographical context as the church of Panagia Angeloktisti (Fig. 1; see Table 1). Whilst chronologically quite distinct, it is not possible to associate the Bronze Age with sites of later period, as the proximity in locale may indicate that the context in these locations was important in some way.

Based on the geographical and historical contexts of these sites, it seems that in both cases, commercial and trading activities have existed for a long time in these geographical areas (Michael 2010, 28–30, 36–39, 45–50, 79–81). Thus, the appearance of graffiti at these sites, during different periods, is probably the result of continuous commercial trading activities that were initiated in the Bronze Age and have remained important until recent years. However, if this assumption is true, finding the reason why ship graffiti have not appeared in other periods, between these chronological periods is raised. Unfortunately, this question need much more research prior to being answered.

Eventually, answering questions dealing with the origin of their creators, or the degree of their professionalism, is undoubtedly difficult if not impossible. This is due to the fact that ship graffiti cannot directly give this information, while their creator's identity seems to have been influenced by a variety of factors. Generally speaking though, it appears that the creators of Cypriot ship graffiti were familiar with ship construction, as they present the essential parts of a ship, despite the fact that for the most part they did not create the original types of ships they aimed for. This view has been supported by other researchers, who have studied ship graffiti in other areas within the eastern Mediterranean (Artzy 1999; Marangou 2001). The identity of their creators also depends on their historical, geographical and social contexts, as mentioned in previous examples (e.g. church of Saint George of Greeks, church at Klavdia). It still

remains unclear if they were amateur or professional artists. According to the simplified attribution of ship graffiti and the fact that some of them overlapped each other, as happened at the church of Panagia Stazousa, it seems that their creators were not necessarily professional artists, as professional artists would have indisputably spent more time and labour on creating them.

Conclusions

To sum up, according to this brief study of Cypriot ship graffiti, it is obvious that questions, such as whether archaeologists can fully understand the motives behind the graffiti creation, or what the relationship between ship graffiti and their context is, can be partly answered and a variety of assumptions can be made, although with a significant degree of difficulty.

Ship graffiti can give information about the material and cognitive life in the past, though this information may not be fully understood. This is the case as it is undeniably difficult for one to grasp the graffiti's creator's thoughts which could answer numerous queries, such as why it was decided for these representations to be formed in this context; what meanings were meant to be expressed through these representations; whether ship graffiti bear additional meanings depending on the social groups of the society in which they were created; and if, finally, these representations had different value for their creator than to other people. Further and more elaborate research in this field of study will allow for some detailed answers to these questions, yet at the moment it is clear that the questions outweigh the answers regarding ship graffiti in Cyprus.

Acknowledgements

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Table 1: Cypriot Ship Graffiti

N°	Site	Location	Chronology	Evidence of Ship Graffiti	Comments	Selected Bibliography
1	The ancient city of Enkomi	On the eastern coast of Cyprus, northwest of Salamis and west of the modern village of Enkomi in the Famagusta district (coastal site)	Late Bronze Age	1 ship graffiti; it is too schematic. It was carved on a block of limestone, where three additional graffiti of a bull, a chariot and a structure were also carved.	The ship graffiti was found during the excavation of the most extensive structure of Enkomi, building 18, which is considered as a high-status residence.	Basch 1987, 147-148; Schaeffer 1952, 102, 298-318; Wachsmann 1997, 142-144; Westerbeg 1982, 17, 87.
2	The sacred area at Kition: Temple 1 and Temple 4	On the west side of Larnaca Bay, on the southern coast of Cyprus (coastal site)	Late Bronze Age	19 ship graffiti on the northern wall of the Temple 1 and 1 ship graffiti on the stones of an altar, in Temple 4. They are too schematic.	These graffiti have hitherto been examined as an important source of nautical information and were interpreted as <i>navettes</i> .	Arcey 1987; Arcey 1996; Basch and Arcey 1985, 322-326; Wachsmann 1997.
3	The Church of Panagia Angelioktisti	At the north-western edge of the Kiti village. This is located at the inland area of the Cape Kiti at the southern coast of Cyprus (inland site, but much closed to the sea)	The church was built in the eleventh century AD over the ruins of a fifth century AD early Christian basilica. Its current form is a result of later additions and alterations.	2 ship graffiti on the left side of a pillar near the entrance, which leads from the narthex to the nave of the church. The biggest graffiti is not well preserved.	These graffiti are probably dated in the Ottoman period, because the narthex was built in the nineteenth century AD. The bad condition of the surface on which ship graffiti were created does not help to understand exactly what type of ships they represent. However, the one of them probably represents a ship which corresponds at the type of brigantine (Andela 2000).	Juliana 2001, 179-180.
4	The church of Saint Aikaterini at the Klavdia village	Klavdia is located north west of the city of Larnaca, whilst it is adjacent to the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni (inland site)	The church was probably built during the fourteenth century AD and it was transformed into a mosque during the Ottoman period.	4 ship graffiti: 2 on the north interior wall of the church and 2 on the west exterior wall of the church. The last 2 are not well preserved. The interior one, which is located at the left side of the door, probably represents a four-masted ship. The other one, which is located at the right side of the door, is fairly damaged, but it has a detailed anchor at the right hand end of the hull.	The two ship graffiti on the north interior wall of the church are probably dated in the nineteenth century AD.	Unpublished
5	The church of Panagia Stavrousa	The church is located at the mountainous area of the Larnaca district and it is adjacent to the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni (inland site)	The church is probably part of a monastery of the Larina order of Cistercians monks, who arrived in Cyprus at the beginning of the fourteenth century AD.	1 ship graffiti on the exterior north wall. They are schematic and probably unfinished. They overlap with each other.	They were probably more detailed, but the restoration projects, the demolition and the weather erosion destroyed them.	Unpublished

6	The Royal Chapel	It is located at the west end of the village of Pyrgi, which lies between Larnaca, Nicosia and Limassol and which is adjacent to the Holy Monastery of Stavrovouni (inland site)	The Royal Chapel was probably built during the early fifteenth century AD.	a ship graffiti on the wall at the right interior side of the south door. The two, which are represented together, are detailed, while the other one is not well preserved.	According to Whitewright (Pers. Com. 2010), the two detailed graffiti probably have a traditional Mediterranean lateen/ settee sailing rig, while the shape of the mastheads is post from thirteenth century AD to fifteenth century AD. The chapel was built during the early fifteenth century AD; consequently, the graffiti might be dated in the fifteenth century AD or later, but in any case they cannot later than the eighteenth century AD. Imhaus and Bollea (2009) mentioned that the graffiti must present "fragras" and they are probably dated in the sixteenth century AD.	Imhaus 2001, 183-185; Imhaus and Bollea 2009, 410; Trentin 2010, 313
7	The church of Saint George of the Greeks	The church built at the Greek quarter of Famagusta, which occupied almost the whole of the southern end of the city. It is near the harbor (coastal site)	It was built in the fourteenth century AD by the Greeks merchants of Famagusta.	More than 30 ship graffiti, which present a variety of types of ships. Some of them are schematic, but many they are detailed.	According to their attributions, the majority of ship graffiti seems to be dated in the Ottoman period.	Imhaus 2001, 180-185; Trentin 2010, 304; Walsh 2008.
8	The church of Saint Nicholas	The byzantine church is located in the area of the Greek quarter. It is located nearby the church of Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta. As it is not so impressive building as the church of the Saint George, it is not clear whether people could see it from the sea (coastal site)	The church was built during the fifteenth century AD.	5 ship graffiti, which probably represent the same type of ship.		Imhaus 2001, 185, 193.
9	The church of Saint George Exorcists (of the Nestorians)	It is located at the city of Famagusta. (coastal site)	The church was built slightly before 1660. It was bombarded by the Ottomans in 1737 and at some point after its abandonment was used as a stable.	1 ship graffiti distinguishes fairly on a fresco of Martyr Menas, who is the protector of travelling and merchants.		Walsh 2008, 124-126.

10	The monastery of Agia Napa	It is located in the district of Panagista, near Cape Greco and not far from Cape Pyla. (coastal site)	There is no sufficient evidence as to when the monastery was founded, but its structure has been dated in the fifteenth century AD.	a pictorial ship graffiti. It was painted by carbon.	During the present author's research, the graffiti had already been destroyed, but it was photographed by Iulius, who has mentioned that the graffiti illustrated a ship with raised sail. The photograph published by Iulius is not of good quality; consequently the graffiti cannot be further studied.	Iulius 2001, 186, 197.
11	The church of the monastery of Archangel Michael	The church is located at Monagi, which is located 3 km north west of Limassol, at the mountainous area of Limassol district. (inland site)	Uncertain. According to an inscription above from the entrance, the church and the monastery were destroyed by fire in 1746 and it was reconstructed in 1749.	Uncertain. According to Iulius (2001, 186), some graffiti (about 4) should have been located on the exterior walls of this church. During the present author's research, these graffiti were not found.	These graffiti have not been photographed or recorded. They have probably been destroyed by the conservative works, which have already started, in order to repair the church. However, some important questions regarding the depiction of ship graffiti in inland areas can be raised: (1) why a ship graffiti was painted on the wall of a church, which is located at the hinterland of the island? (2) Were there any commercial courses or other activities, which were possibly associated with this graffiti?	Iulius 2001, 186.
12	The Bellapais Abbey	It is situated in the Bellapais village in Kyrenia district. It is located in a short distance from the coast. (inland site, but visible from the sea)	There is not sufficient evidence as to when the abbey was founded, but it was probably built in the twelfth century AD.	4 ship graffiti. The one in the window splay in the refectory is more detailed. It probably represents a galley.	These graffiti have not been properly photographed or recorded.	Iulius 2001, 189, 191; Iremis 2010, 304.
13	The castle of Saint Titician	It was built on a peak of the western part of the Pevradaktylos mountain range, approximately 725m from the sea level. (inland site, but visible from the sea)	It was built in the end of the eleventh century AD.	a pictorial ship graffiti. Only the hull of the ship is distinguished. It was depicted by vertical and horizontal lines, which probably show the construction of the ship.	The only picture of this graffiti was taken by Iremis, but it is of no good quality and it is therefore difficult to distinguish the ship graffiti. It seems that it is associated with some linguistic graffiti.	Iulius 2001, 186, 198.

14	The monastery of Saint Panteleimon	The monastery is located on the mountain Kratis, at the Miterio village. Miterio is within the district of Nicosia, while it is located at the mountainous range of Troodos. (inland site)	According to epigraphic evidence, the monastery built in 1770.	1 pictorial ship graffiti. It was painted by red ochre. It represents a small boat with a person.	Some important questions regarding the depiction of ship graffiti in inland areas can be raised: (1) why a ship graffiti was painted on the wall of a church, which is located at the hinterland of the island? (2) Were there any commercial routes or other activities, which were possibly associated with this graffiti? According to the figure 1, this ship graffiti is probably associated spatially with the ship graffiti at the churches with the number 3 to 6. Their spatial correlation may indicate a trade route.	Inhans 2007, 186, 197; Inhans and Bollon 2009, 426 – 427.
15	The church of Agia Apostoli, Pera Chorio	The church is located at the Nicosia district. (inland site)	It was constructed during the end of the twelfth century AD. However, some of the frescoes dated in the fifteenth century AD.	According to Trentin (2010, 308), a highly stylized double sail vessel near the figure of Saint Nicholas was found, but it is badly damaged.	The ship graffiti was probably created near the figure of Saint Nicholas, because Saint Nicholas is the saint of seamen and the artist of ship graffiti wanted to ingratiate oneself with him. According to the figure 1, this ship graffiti seems to associate spatially with the ship graffiti at the churches with the number 4 to 6 and 14. Their spatial correlation may indicate a trade route.	Trentin 2010, 308; Trentin and Hadjilivriakos 2007.
16	Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nicosia	The Cathedral is located within the city wall of the occupied part of Nicosia. (inland site)	The building belongs to the gothic style of the beginning of the twelfth century AD.	2 ship graffiti and 1 graffiti of a compass. According to Inhans (2009, 425 – 426), ship graffiti are located at the northern aisle of the cathedral and they are detailed. The one represents a small ottoman galley, while the other one represents a small merchant boat, a cunco.		Inhans and Bollon 2009, 425 – 426.

17	The House of the Dragoman of Cyprus Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios	The Dragoman's house stands near the Archbishopric at the corner of Hadjigeorgakis and Patriarch Grigorios V street in the Agios Antonios Quarter of Nicosia where the wealthy members of the Greek community traditionally lived. (inland site)	Ottoman Period (Late 18 th -19 th centuries)	A ship graffiti on the surface of the older layer of the wall blocking the window in Room 20, charcoal figures, ink inscriptions in Greek and Ottoman Turkish and engraved ship graffiti.	Some important questions regarding the depiction of ship graffiti in inland areas can be raised: (1) why a ship graffiti was painted on the wall of a private house, which is located at the hinterland of the island? (2) Who was the artist of this ship graffiti? (3) Was he an amateur or a professional artist, who was paid in order to create it? Further and more elaborate research will allow for some detailed answers to these questions.	Piller 1993, 50, 83.
18	The Engleistra of Saint Neophytos	A cavern on the eastern side of a hill's slope with fourteenth century frescoes. It is situated to the north of Nea Paphos, but the city and coastline of Paphos are visible from there. (inland site)	The Engleistra is dated in 1350, but some of its frescoes are dated in the fourteenth century AD.	According to Menardos and Tzenta several stylised ship graffiti were carved on the walls (about 9). During the present author's research, only two ship graffiti were distinguished. They were carved on the fresco and next to the figures of saints.		Menardos 1970, 37; Tzenta 2010, 343.
19	The church/catacomb of Agia Solomoni	It is located just 150m away from the Kato Paphos port. (coastal site)	Uncertain. Archaeologists, who have investigated this site, have stated that some of the original graves found at the Agia Solomoni church/catacomb actually date back to the Hellenistic period. Additionally, the chapel retains interesting remnants of paintings, which have been dated in the end of the twelfth century AD.	Uncertain. It is not clear how many ship graffiti were carved in this monument.	According to Ioannas (2004, 179) ship graffiti were found in this church/catacomb. However, Ioannas has not recorded them describing them, photographing them or mentioning their number and their exact location. The present author has been unable to locate any ship graffiti in the monument.	Ioannas 2001, 178.
20	The church of Saint George Agktonas	The church was located on the road which leads from Omada to Aygironon (inland site, but much closer to the sea).	Uncertain.	22 ship graffiti, which are located on the wall of the sanctuary apse.	Some of ship graffiti are detailed and some of them are not. Most of them represent ships with raised sails.	Unpublished

Table 1: All the evidences of ship graffiti, which are presented in this table, have been studied in the present author's master dissertation. Except for the evidences of ship graffiti, which were found at the Cathedral of Saint Sophie in Nicosia, the church of Agii Apostoloi (Pera Chorio) in Nicosia, the House of Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios in Nicosia and the church of Saint George Agktona in Ormidia. Furthermore, there is information that ship graffiti are located at the Othello Tower in Famagusta, the Castle of Kyrenia and the Castle of Kolossi in Limassol, but they have not been located yet; as a result, these ship graffiti are not included in this table.

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ARTIFACTS AND DECORATIONS



Investigating the bone artifacts from Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus

Polyxeni Ellina

In the light of new developments in archaeological practice and theory, a revisiting of material assemblages procured from earlier excavations is taking an important place in the process of archaeological research. In turn, this is contributing to the finds of modern excavation projects, bringing also to surface material groups that have been less fortunate in their handling during the past.

Bone artifacts are one example of a material group that is now gaining more attention. Having this in mind, the purpose of this essay is to discuss a model of recording and analyzing artifacts manufactured from osseous material and to contribute towards bringing it closer to the discussions and concerns of contemporary archaeology.

It is true that, while trying to manage a large number of artifacts, the bulk of data can be quite overwhelming, calling for a systematic and strictly defined mode of recording. A procedure such as reveals a number of problems, which need to be addressed before dealing with the actual archaeological questions. The way in which these problems will be dealt with, will define the stages which will follow and, ultimately, the conclusions of the whole process.

In endeavoring to accomplish this, we present here an example taken from the material assemblages of Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus. The choice of bone, antler and ivory artifacts from this period is connected to the character of the period, which is a crucial turning point of the prehistoric Cypriot society. This is due to the fact that, the Early-Middle Bronze Age society went through significant changes while structuring the frame in which the urban-formed city-states of the Late Bronze Age will later flourish.

This fact has been supported by various essays (Knapp 1990, 147; Steel 2004, 148) which discuss the material culture of the period. This paper is an attempt to examine some aspects of the period through the study of a particular group of bone artifacts.

Documentation

The goal of any endeavor in compiling a data base, which in this case is relying on excavation records, is to bring together all collected data concerning the artifacts, into a corpus. Figure 1 corresponds to the way in which a data base can be created, using a simple computer program.

Firstly, data is organized into four groups of information. The first includes timespace data, the second contextual data, the third material data, whereas in the last one, supplementary information is included. Each of these groups can be analyzed into different columns containing an individual piece of information. For example, the timespace group data is divided into columns pertaining to type, site period, stratum and other information relevant to chronological and spatial issues.

The above theoretical schema can now be put into practice here with the help of an indicative table which includes fifteen pointed tools. It should be noted that each of the aforementioned groups of the original table is presented as a separate table (Figs. 2–5) for purposes of clarity. Each of the artifacts included in the data base is assigned a catalogue number which is unique to every item.

So, the table presenting the ‘Time-Space’ (Fig. 2) group of information includes data pertaining to type, site, relative and absolute chronology, strata, deposit depth, description of strata and floor number.

The ‘Contextual’ group (Fig. 3) (the catalog number is demonstrated again for the purposes of this presentation; it is not a repeated column) includes information concerning the place in which the artifact was found such as grid square, area of investigation and structure, feature or tomb. Also, information about the contextual group is recorded with data about burials and other finds relevant to the recorded artifact.

The following data group, that of ‘Material’ (Fig. 4), includes data about the anatomical part on which the artifact is made on, the animal species it came from as well as preservation degree, dimensions and description. Additionally, information about parallels, both from intra-site and extra-site comparisons is included.

The final group (Fig. 5) includes separate columns for bibliographical references, information about the excavation (e.g. duration, director), additional information which is not included in another section, as well as an image of the artifact.

It is now evident that the compiling of the data base is firmly dependent on existing work performed by scholars involved in excavation projects and the publication of results as well as on studies

concerned with issues relating to bone artifacts. So, the aim of the data base is to bring together information from various researchers into a unified corpus, providing a common ground for further analysis and interpretation of this particular material group.

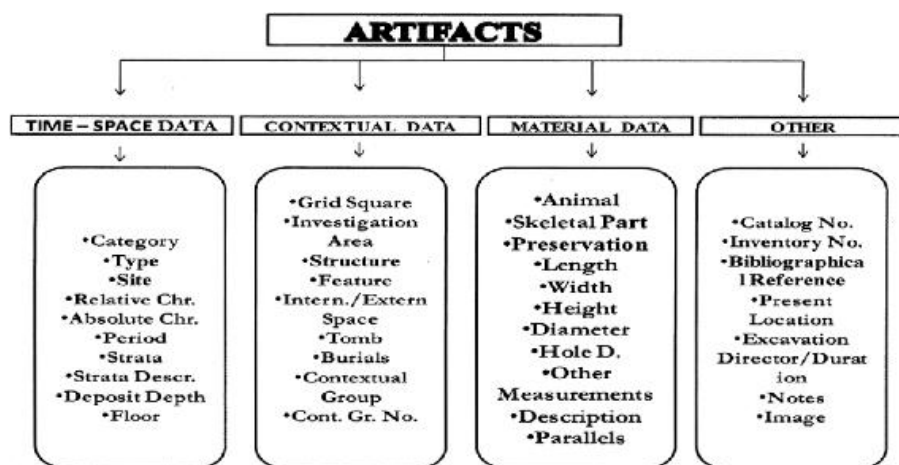


Figure 1: Data columns pertaining to four groups of information.

It is also true, that any such data-base can be easily put to test in order to reveal flaws and possible ways for refining the frame and guidelines of its structure. In this way it can prove useful in further study of the material, especially because it enables the researcher to explore specific questions by using any compilation of data, which he/she thinks relevant to a particular research question.

Analysis

Let us now turn to the stage following the compiling of a data-base, the stage of analysis. In doing so, the definition of specific questions is necessary. Forming questions is a re-occurring theme during the course of study. They prove to be pivotal at the stage of compiling the structure of any data-base and continue to be revisited at various points while research is unrolling. In the case of this paper the main question is centered on bone pointed tools from Early and Middle Bronze Age sites at Cyprus and the possible reflections of the period on this group (Hodder 2002, 234). The variables used in exploring this question are restricted to the number of artifacts, the sites at which they were found and to the other categories that compile the bone artifacts corpus of the period.

TIME AND SPACE DATA								
CATEGORY		Pointed Tools						
Cat.No.	TYPE	SITE	RELATIVE CHR.	ABSOLUTE CHR.	SITE PERIOD	STRATA	STRATA DESCRIPTION	FLOOR
1687		Sotira - Kaminoudhia	EC	2400-2174 B.C.E.				
1708		Marki - Alonia	MC I		G-1	5		
1712		Marki - Alonia	EC I-II		D	12		
1722		Marki - Alonia	EC III		F-1	4		
1728		Marki - Alonia	MC I		G	6		
1730		Marki - Alonia	MC I-II		H-1	2		
1739		Marki - Alonia	MC I		G	3		
1740		Marki - Alonia	MC I		H-1	2		
1749		Marki - Alonia	EC III		E-1	4		
1753		Marki - Alonia	EC I-II		D	2		
1786		Marki - Alonia	EC I-II		C	7		
1796		Marki - Alonia	EC III		F	2		
1827		Audirou - Kamares	EC III - MC I				Extremely disturbed.	
1806		Aharabra-Mouttes	MC I	ca. 1900 - 1800 B.C.		2	Filling.	
1693		Sotira - Kaminoudhia	EC	2400-2174 B.C.E.			A thin sector of wall visible at the S portion. Below the soil turned more grey with some darker patches, but never so dense as in Unit B. The soil was mixed with occupation debris directly overlying the 1/2 brick benches that served as the floor in the occupation area.	
1694		Sotira - Kaminoudhia	EC	2400-2174 B.C.E.			Irregular layer of rubble approximately 30 cm below the present ground surface. Position of sub-salt debris seen from throughout. Only the NW corner of the room seems to have been free of ash. The occupation debris covering beneath was the usual mixture of sherds and flaked stone with a higher than usual amount of bone.	
1686		Sotira - Kaminoudhia	EC	2400-2174 B.C.E.				

Figure 2: Table showing the columns containing Time-Space related data.

Before continuing, there is one more aspect that needs to be addressed: the impact of the individual researcher on results. Despite all honest effort to eliminate any subjectivity while dealing with a material it is rather difficult to eliminate such influence. Any process such as compiling a record, analyzing data or concluding is prone to be influenced by the individual researcher even at a small degree (Thomas 2006, 26-7; Hodder 2002, 87). That is why a well-defined structure is needed while compiling a corpus and one more reason that carefully designated questions give a firm basis of analysis. Furthermore, not only the preconceptions of the individual scholar influence any course of research and hence its results, but also the scholar's choices are greatly influenced by trends and schools of thought as he is part of the archaeological developments. An example can be given below in the course of the discussion of bone artifacts belonging to the period.

When considering the number of bone artifacts from Early and Middle Bronze Age sites (Fig. 6), it is evident that the bone artifact assemblage is not a particularly large corpus. This can be explained if we take into consideration the history of archaeology and archaeological research. The archaeology of an island which was inhabited during the A ceramic Neolithic period, captured the imagination mostly through the circular buildings of the early Neolithic, the unique cruciform figurines of the Chalcolithic, the mixed types of the idiomorphic wares of the Late Bronze Age and the

quest for Alashiya. The Early and Middle Bronze Age were represented in the great museum's exhibitions and private collections (e.g. Morris 1985; Karageorghis 1999) by large decorated bowls of Red Polished ware tradition and the singular plank-shaped figurines, while the Middle Bronze period was represented mostly by White Painted wares and figurines.

CONTEXTUAL DATA									
CATEGORY		Pointed Tools							
Cat. No	GRID SQ.	INV./TION AREA	STRUCTURE	FEATURE	IN/EX SPACE	TOMB	BURIALS	CONTEXTUAL GROUP	CONTEX GROUP NO
1687		C	9						
1708			X					two ceramic whorls, pounder, basin, terracotta zoomorphic figurine, metal needle, dentalium beads, box, pottery	1371
1712			IX						1466
1722			XCV					bowl, juglet, two loam weights	2425
1728			IX						1411
1730			XCH					Longitudinally cut, chert the sponge pan.	2273
1739			XCV		ex				2567
1740			CXXI					bowl, two ceramic whorls, a hob, gaming stone, pounder, small mortar	2831
1749			CXX					bowls, pyxis, DP jug, ceramic wheel, terracotta figurine, hob, metal needle, pestle, rubbers, spurs, sockets, pounder	3119
1753			LXIII		in				1244
1786			CXXI		in				3186
1796			LXVIII						1134
1827						28	Skeletal remains of at least two adults		
1806			V.15.18					Copper and Copper working. Ground stone: pounder, perforated hammer, three hammerstones, quern. Bone: post (D 3), Terracotta spindle wheel, two modified sherds. Pottery: EP A and WP	
1693	C		21		ex				
1694	C		9		in			pottery, mortars, pecking stone, rubber-pounder, pterisite pendant	
1686	C		21		ex			pottery, mortars, pecking stone, rubber-pounder, pterisite pendant	

Figure 3: Table showing the columns containing Contextual data.

Thus, the orientation of excavations and the limited interest for bone artifacts (Legrand 2007, 5) have influenced the information gathered pertaining to this particular material group. Moreover, taphonomic factors (Olsen 2007, 176) and the character of sites recovered belonging to the Early and Middle Bronze Age consist different factors of influence as most of the early excavated sites of the period revealed graves and cemeteries, forming a rather mortuary period character (Steel 2004, 119; Knapp 1999, 75).

MATERIAL DATA											
CATEGORY											
Pointed Tools											
POINTED TOOLS											
Cat. No.	ANIMAL	SKELETAL PART	PRESV.	L.	W.	TH.	H.	D.	H. D.	DESCRIPTION	PARALLELS
1687	unidentified	bone	fr.								
1708	Dama	metapodial	fr.	9,4	1					Tip and butt missing.	
1712	large or medium sized mammal	rib	fr.	7	1,8					Butt missing. Polished.	Similar points from W. Asia, called 'apandatae'.
1722	unidentified	rib	fr.	9,2	0,8					Oval section. Polished.	Similar points from W. Asia, called 'apandatae'.
1728	large animal	long bone	fr.	6,6						Tip missing.	
1730	large animal	rib	fr.	7,7						Tip and half of shaft preserved. Four minded fragments. Some polish.	Similar points from W. Asia, called 'apandatae'.
1739	Dama	metatarsal	fr.	7,5						Butt.	
1740	unidentified	long bone	fr.	5,4	0,6					Tip missing.	
1749	large animal	long bone	fr.	8,3	1					Tip missing.	
1753	Dama	metatarsal	fr.	5,2						Butt of implement. Polish.	
1786	Dama	metatarsal	fr.	11						Tip missing. Some polish.	
1796	unidentified	rib	fr.	4,6	0,7					Polished.	Similar points from W. Asia, called 'apandatae'.
1827	unidentified	bone	fr.							Shaft with pointed tip.	
1896	unidentified	bone	fr.	0,3	0,1	0				Chipped.	
1693	unidentified	bone	fr.	3,5	0,8	0,3				Rounded tip.	
1694	unidentified	bone	fr.	5,6	1,3	0,3				Semicircular in transverse section. Marks on edges.	
1696	unidentified	bone	fr.	7,3	1,8	1,3				Rounded point.	

Figure 4: Table showing the columns containing Material data.

In recent years, new archaeological movements, the theorization and the expressed need for cooperation between specialists and other scientific fields seem to have influenced the dealing with bone artifacts' assemblages (Rowley-Conmy 2006; Choyke and Schibler 2007, 62). New research methods have demonstrated the necessity of a more systematic dealing with bone material and also with bone artifacts (Legrand and Sidéra 2007, 72–3). In this way, the material itself is now better recorded and studied and thus, more acceptable to interpretation and more able to contribute to interpretation of social transformations which take place in the past. These developments have also influenced Cyprus archaeology. By excavating and publishing settlement groups such as Marki-Alonia (Frankel and Webb 1996, 2006), Alambra-Mouttes (Coleman *et al.* 1996) and Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny *et al.* 2003) in the light of these developments, new information along with bone material has enriched the archaeological record.

Turning now, to the sites which provided the material for this study, it is shown that the bulk of artifacts come from later excavations and particularly from Marki-Alonia (Fig. 6). In this way although most of the recorded sites are grave sites, the bulk of the artifacts themselves belong to settlement sites. Moreover, as the finds

from Marki-Alonia constitute the majority of finds belonging to the period, any remark or conclusion is unavoidably connected to this particular site.

OTHER INFORMATION					
Pointed Tools					
CATEGORY					
A/A	INV.NO	BIBL. REFERENCE	EXCAVATION DIR./DUR.	NOTES	IMAGES
1687	B 11	Swiny et al. 2003: 448	S. Swiny, 1983-6		
1708	B16	Frankel/Webb 2006: 44, 195, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1712	B20	Frankel/Webb 2006: 193, fig.5.21,30	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000	Associated with the first substantial construction in the area, forming Compound 17.	
1722	B31	Frankel/Webb 2006: 66, 195, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000	Use not shown/known episode. Maybe finds in situ in a context of factio refectio associated with the abandonment of all compounds. Absence of any ground stone artefacts may be significant, and perhaps reflects a specific use of the area.	
1728	B38	Frankel/Webb 2006: 193, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000	A period of major rebuilding and clearing of earlier deposits.	
1730	B40	Frankel/Webb 2006: 63, 195, 195, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1739	B49	Frankel/Webb 2006: 190,	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000	Probably an open space	
1740	B50	Frankel/Webb 2006: 85, 196, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1749	B59	Frankel/Webb 2006: 85, 195, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1753	B63	Frankel/Webb 2006: 194, fig.5.30	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1786	B96	Frankel/Webb 2006: 193, fig.5.30	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1796	B10	Frankel/Webb 2006: 195, fig.5.31	Frankel/Webb 1990-2000		
1827	AK 13	Βασιλακοπούλου / Μαντζουράκη 1993: 80, nos.67, 80, 125-4, Βασιλακοπούλου et al. 2004	Τριγύρας, Αργονέσιος, 1994		
1806	D3	Coleman et al. 1996: 197-8, Fig.56, Pl. 29	Cornell University, 1971-82		
1693	B 8	Swiny et al. 2003: 448, Fig. 16.4	S. Swiny, 1983-6	Unusually high percentage of animal bone also hints at a specialisation within the wall of this large and probably unexcavated area.	
1694	B 9	Swiny et al. 2003: 9, 448	S. Swiny, 1983-6		
1686	B 6	Swiny et al. 2003: 448, fig. 6.16	S. Swiny, 1983-6	Unusually high percentage of animal bone also hints at a specialisation within the wall of this large and probably unexcavated area.	

Figure 5: Table showing the columns containing data not included in previous sections.

When it comes to the categories of artifacts thirteen different groups (not counting waste-products) were formed (Fig. 7). Most of the categories are represented by very few items except for the pointed tools. In comparing to the Chalcolithic there are a few novel categories while one (that of the Chalcolithic hooks) is totally absent. Also, pointed tools, needles and beads are usually the dominating categories from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods (Έλληνica 2010, tab. 179, 191, 202). In the following period though, despite the fact that pointed tools and needles continue to be the largest categories of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, the bead category is represented by only one established example.

The above observation gives an example of the questions raised through the investigation of the material. Since there are beads made of other materials, mostly stone (Frankel and Webb 2006, 244; Swiny et al. 2003, 234), and taking in mind that, the majority of Chalcolithic registered beads is made of antler (Croft 1985; 1998; 2003), unlike the later example, this minimization in numbers, maybe, indicative of aesthetical choices. Moreover, hunting intensification during previous periods and environmental changes may also be responsible. As we know, such phenomena occur since the Chalcolithic and they become

more apparent during the Late Bronze Age, through the deforestation for the purposes of producing charcoal, needed for primary processing of copper (Knapp 1990, 158; Renfrew & Bahn 2008, 243; Frankel & Webb 2006, 208).

Cyprus



Figure 6: Distribution of sites where bone artifacts were found belonging to the Early and Middle Bronze Age: 1) Avdimou, 2) Sotira, 3) Pygros, 4) Kalavassos, 5) Alambra, 6) Marki, 7) Lapithos, 8) Vounous.

Another interesting category of artifacts, despite the fact it is not well represented – as is the case with all ornamental artifacts of this period – is the pendant category. Maybe the most intriguing one is an intact spurred annular pendant, coming from Marki. This artifact together with its parallels manufactured from different materials, which come from Marki and other sites (Frankel & Webb 2006, 242; Swiny *et al.* 2003, 236), are very likely to withhold an intricate symbolic character.

Nevertheless, the central question put here is still concerning the pointed tools. It is the largest category. But, the largest, in a material group, which is represented by very low numbers in comparison to the finds of previous periods.

Up to a point, the use of metallurgy was likely to change the balances. In the same way, alongside with bone needles we come across their metallic synonyms (Frankel & Webb 2006, 185–6). Maybe, the intensification in the production of metal objects, the standardization and also, the convenience the new material brought in enlarging production numbers can explain why the pointed tools disappear during the Late Bronze Age.

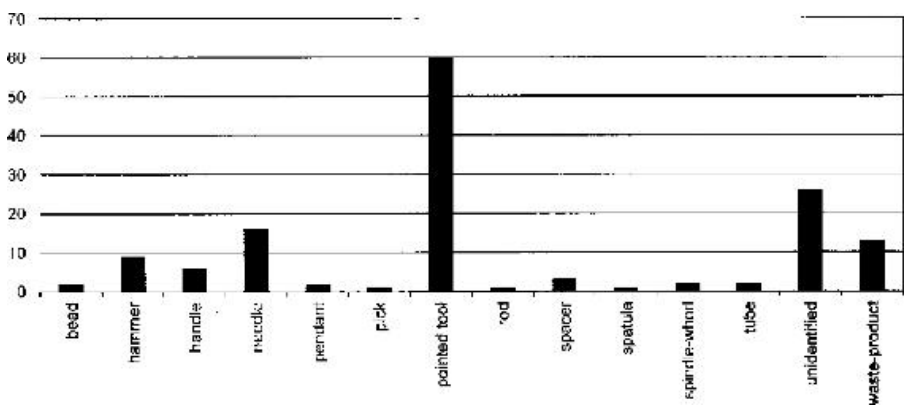


Figure 7: Early and Middle Bronze Age bone artifacts categories.

If something can support the new, profound divisions that seem to take place during the Late Bronze Age, based on the material of our study, this can be the sturdy, durable, easier in manufacture and more efficient, metal pointed tools, which supplant years of practices in the manufacture of bone tools. Even more so, that which can certainly demonstrate the transition from a household-centered manufacture to a well-organized and extremely specialized production process is exactly this movement from bone tools to metal ones.

Conclusions

In the study of material groups which have been in the margins of archaeological research in the past, a disciplined recording and a systematic organization can help towards contributing to the archaeological process. This can be done through the compiling of a data-base which will enable the pursuing of specific questions examined by the individual scholar.

This has been demonstrated here through the proposed model for compiling a database and the examination of bone pointed tools from the Early and Middle Bronze Age of Cyprus taking into consideration three variables: the number of bone assemblage of the period, the character of sites that provided the assemblage and different categories of material. Although the pointed tools comprise the largest category of the period, their number is rather small compared to other periods, an observation that is linked perhaps with choices pertaining to production strategies, taphonomic factors or retrieval methods. Additionally, most of the pointed tools come from only one site hence is rather difficult to proceed to generalizations concerning the whole period. Still, despite of their scarcity other artifacts such as pendants and beads show associations with other materials as do needles. The

transfer from bone to other materials when manufacturing specific categories of artifacts may be connected to the availability of raw materials or even a change in preferences due to social or economic factors.

Admittedly, the low numbers of the group under consideration poses a limitation in expanding research questions and the information obtained. But bone artifact assemblages in general is a field that offers a large scope for future investigation in exploring various questions dealing with issues such as manufacture, use or its relation to similar groups outside the island.

In our view it can be argued therefore that even a seemingly uninteresting article in the archaeological context, is part of a puzzle and it can contribute towards reconstructing human action in the past.

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Between Near Eastern and Minoan/ Mycenaean traditions. The representation of the palm tree in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

Ilaria Caloi

In this paper I deal with the iconographic representation of the palm tree in the figurative arts of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. Nearly all scholars agree that the palm tree represented in Cypriot, as well as in Mesopotamian, Near Eastern and Minoan/Mycenaean iconography, is a date palm. Although it is hard to confirm if the botanical remains from old excavations in Cyprus can be properly attributed to date palm trees, it is sufficient to say that the palm tree has been attested in Cyprus at least from the XVI century BC. In fact, the charcoal remains found in the Late Bronze Age site of Hala Sultan Tekke, and precisely in Trench 3, have been attributed to palm trees (Åström *et al.* 1976, 117).

It is well known that Cypriot artists adopted foreign iconographic schemes, choosing their sources of inspiration and then adapting the foreign images to their own indigenous culture. Since the palm tree seems a typical example of iconographic motif which was originally imported to Cyprus by the Near East and then influenced in its value and meaning by the Minoan/Mycenaean world, in this paper I would like to discuss the function and the symbolism of the palm tree in Cyprus, trying to gain a deeper understanding of how the Cypriot artists adapted it to their own needs. It is already well accepted that in the Near East, in the Minoan/Mycenaean world and in Cyprus the palm tree is mostly connected to ritual activities, and in this paper I argue that in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, as well as in Crete, the representation of the palm tree is especially involved in sacrificial rituals, as the indubitable depiction of the palm tree on many seals in Common Style and on significant Mycenaean imports and imitations (*e.g. rhyta* and *kalathoi*) seems to indicate.

From the East to the Aegean world: symbolic meanings of the palm tree

The first instances of the palm tree in figurative arts go back to the Ancient Mesopotamia, where it features in the religious iconography, showing that it was an essential tree in the economy of the Mesopotamia. Here, the palm tree is considered the tree of life for the following reasons: first, for its value for subsistence, second, because it grows everywhere, and third, for its process of fertilization, which is representative of procreation in nature (Kepinsky 1982). In fact, the palm tree is divided into male and female trees, and, in particular, the date palm ripens only if the female flowers are pollinated by the male ones. The pollination can take place naturally, by the wind, or artificially. For example, the Mesopotamians climbed up the female trees and deposited male flowers on the female inflorescence (Danthine 1937). Mostly because of its process of fertilisation the palm tree was likely considered the plant of fertility *par excellence*.

In the Mesopotamian art of the III millennium BC, for the first time the stylised palm tree is represented as a symbolic element of cult in ritual scenes, which usually represents the offering to a seated figure, who is explained as a monarch or as a God. On the steles (Roaf 1990, 75), as well as on many seals from Ur, the symbolic tree and the support are depicted often in the same way, *i.e.* palm branches with two schematized clusters of dates hanging from either sides, placed in an offering stand or flower pot. The worshippers are depicted bringing offerings to the seated figure or pouring a libation in the flower pot. Sometimes the palm tree is behind the seated figure (*e.g.* Danthine 1937, pl. 3, n. 8) or behind the adorant making offerings in front of an altar (*e.g.* Danthine 1937, pl. 28, n. 173). In these scenes, the palm tree does not represent a landscape element, but it conveys a symbolic value. It is connected to the deity, it is the symbol of fertility, and so it is the expression of the eternal recycling of life; for all these reasons it is involved in offering and ritual libations.

In the II millennium BC the tree cult scenes spread from Mesopotamia to the Near East, where the sacred tree is mostly represented as a palm tree, but sometimes it can be a hybrid form (Kourou 2001, 32–33). In the Near Eastern figurative art the Mesopotamian tree cult scenes give way to two stylised patterns, where the main motif of the scene is a dominant tree. In the first model, the seated god is often omitted for lack of space, and embodied by the sacred tree, that is frequently represented as a palm tree. As it becomes the symbol of the deity, the rituals connected to the palm tree appear to be the offering to the deity. For instance, in several Syrian seals of the XVIII century BC, the palm tree is depicted in the

centre of the scene and flanked by human figures who are holding objects, as they are probably performing some rituals. Usually there are some cosmic symbols, such as the moon and the sun in the background (a winged sun is frequently shown above the tree), which complete the cultic character of the scenes (e.g. Collon 1987b, nn. 217, 219).



Figure 1: Cylinder seal in Common Style from Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb 1.41 (from Graziadio 2003, 29, fig. 1.1).

In the second pattern, the scene is dominated by the tree of life, which is the most popular motif among the Near Eastern versions of the sacred tree. Since the tree of life is best exemplified by the palm tree, in many Syrian seals of the XVIII century BC, the latter is guarded heraldically by animals, mostly caprids or monsters, whose heraldic position adds an emblematic character to the scenes (e.g. Collon 1987b, n. 221).

The palm tree is very common in the decoration of several classes of Near Eastern objects, mostly on cylinder seals, and therefore it is through the high circulation of the seals that the representation of the palm tree as tree of life spread widely in the Mediterranean cultures in the Late Bronze Age.

The Aegean representations of the palm tree seem to be indebted to the Near Eastern art, as well as to the Mesopotamian art, transmitted through the Syrian cultures. At the same time, it appears to carry several meanings, since it is depicted as: 1) part of the landscape, Aegean landscape, but mostly exotic landscape; 2) symbol of fertility and procreation, and therefore of everlasting tree (tree of life); 3) symbol of sacrifice, as best explained by N. Marinatos (1984, 1986); 4)

symbol of the epiphany of the deity.

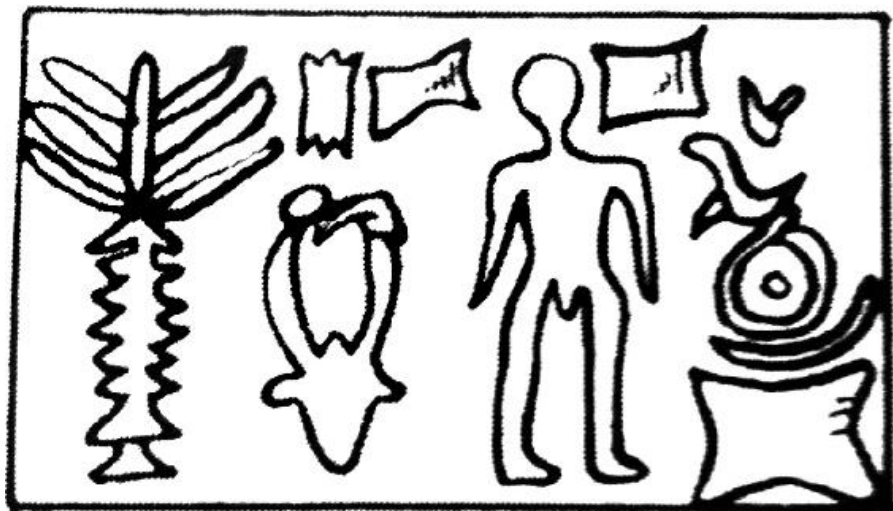


Figure 2: Cylinder seal in Common Style from Kourion (from Graziadio 2003, 29, fig. 1.2).

In Minoan iconography, there are many cases in which the palm tree is only a feature of a subtropical landscape, called also Nilotic. This landscape is represented with flora and fauna atypical of the Aegean: together with palms, there are papyri, wildcats, lions and fabulous elements, such as griffins. One of the best examples is offered by the famous Akrotiri fresco from Thera, found in the West House: here the palm tree is represented in a realistic and naturalistic way (Marinatos 1999, pl. 8). Another interesting sample is represented by a seal from Mycenae, characterised by two lions backed by palm trees (CMS I, n. 71).

Following Watrous's opinion (1991, 296), the Nilotic landscape probably represents a faraway and exotic land, which is also used to represent the afterworld, the world beyond. In fact, Nilotic landscapes are frequently depicted in funerary painting, and especially on Minoan *larnakes*, which become really common in Crete in Late Minoan IIIA2 (XV-XIV cent. BC) and IIIB (XIII cent. BC). On these burial coffins, the style is schematic and stylised, and the Nilotic landscape often appears in abbreviated forms; for instance, a Late Minoan IIIB *larnax* from Gazi and one in Ayios Nikolaos Museum are both painted with a row of palms, depicted with thick, arched and drooping branches (Watrous 1991, pls. 92d, 83e). Moreover, the palms, together with flowers, are the favourite motifs represented on the sides of *larnakes* (Watrous 1991, pls. 83b, 86e, 92i). As pointed out by Watrous (1991, 297), the palm motif on the *larnakes* suggests that it was to be understood not only as exotic flora, but also as a religious symbol of everlasting life.

Indeed, the palm tree features as a sacred tree in Minoan iconography. N. Marinatos (1989, 132) has demonstrated that the tree played an important role in Minoan cults, since it is the focus of the ritual scenes; nevertheless, in contrast to the Near East, in the Aegean world the tree is not object of worship, but rather part of the ritual nexus. Among the most represented trees there are the fig tree and the olive tree, which are mainly connected to female deities or adorants, and the palm tree, which instead is mostly associated to males and to specific rituals (Marinatos 1989). In particular, there are a great number of representations on seals, mostly of unknown provenance, connecting the palm tree with horned animals, that are mostly goats or bulls. They are shown alive, grazing, simply standing, often with their heads turned (CMS I, nn. 57, 74; CMS VII, n. 113). According to N. Marinatos (1984), the palm tree is frequently associated with horned animals because the latter are sacrificial victims, and in fact, in many representations, they are shown on the sacrificial table. For instance, on a seal from Mycenae (CMS XI, n. 52), a goat is depicted on an altar table with a dagger stuck in its throat; bending over the sacrificed animal is a stylized palm.¹ A confirmation of the close connection between the palm and the sacrifice is illustrated by a seal from Naxos (CMS V.2, n. 608), where a god holding a long staff, is standing in front of a low table or altar, on which an assemblage of cult utensils is depicted: a libation ewer, a conical *rhyton*, a krater and a sword or dagger. In front of both is a stylised palm. This assemblage was thought to represent equipment for blood and bloodless offerings; the dagger is the instrument of sacrifice, while the libations are performed by using the *rhyton* and the ewer. It is likely that the krater was the receptacle for the animal's blood, as it is visible on the famous Sarcophagus of Ayia Triada.

In Minoan iconography, there are also religious scenes with palms involving altars, demons and horns of consecration. A seal from Vaphio (CMS I, n. 189) shows two demons holding libation ewers above an altar topped with horns of consecrations, from which palm branches are growing. Even the Minoan and Mycenaean *rhyta*, which are specific libation vessels, are often painted with palm trees (Koehl 2006, 154, 176, nn. 567, 725). On some of these *rhyta*, the palm tree is associated with horns of consecrations, as it is visible on the specimen found in a tomb of Livadia, Beotia (Koehl 2006, 158, n. 604).

The Minoan/Mycenaean scenes depicting “the palm on the altar” are reminiscent of the Mesopotamian custom of placing palm branches in an offering vase. Indeed, in these scenes it seems that the meaning of the palm includes also the epiphany of the deity, as the tree appears to mark the spot of the divinity (Hiller 2011).

From the aforementioned representations, it is evident that, in the Aegean world, most of scenes involving the palm tree is related to the performance of rituals in honour of the deity, through diverse actions, such as sacrifices of horned animals, shown alive or on the sacrificial table, libations at the altar and offerings to the god/goddess recipient.



Figure 3: Cylinder seal in Common Style from Enkomi (from Graziadio 2003, 29, fig. 1.3).

The palm tree in the figurative arts of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age

Many scholars have asserted that the palm tree features as a sacred tree in Cypriot iconography but not much attention has been placed on the symbolic meaning that could be attributed to the palm tree. In Cyprus, the palm tree is mostly depicted on cylinder seals, and especially on those realized in the so-called Common Style (see *infra*), as well as on vases in the Pictorial Style. It is also present on funerary plaques, as well as on Mycenaean imports and/or imitations, above all on ritual vessels, such as *rhyta* and *kalathoi*.

In Cypriot figurative arts, the palm tree seems to be associated to the tree of life (*i.e.* fertility and procreation), and therefore reminds the symbol of rebirth and of resurgence; otherwise, it is connected to ritual activities involving sacred symbols. The palm tree as tree of life is mostly represented in the centre of the scene, flanked by two animals, reproducing in this way a typical subject of Near Eastern

reminiscence. This motif is mostly depicted on funerary objects, such as on the golden plaque retrieved from Tomb 5 of Enkomi, which shows three naturalistic and realistic palm trees, flanked by two goats (Courtois, Lagarce 1986, n. 12). This schematic scene with the tree flanked by two animals, usually goats or bulls, frequently appears on vases in the Pictorial Style found in Cyprus (e.g. Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 23, n. III.26), where the style is reminiscent of that of Minoan and Mycenaean *larnakes*. Sometimes, the representations painted on the Pictorial Style vases show two birds pecking the tree, which becomes the symbol of life (e.g. Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 13, n. III.1). In these scenes, however, the schematic representation of the tree makes it more difficult to define the tree as a palm tree. On the contrary, on several Pictorial Style vases found in Cyprus and painted with funerary scenes, near the chariot, that is a typical feature of Mycenaean funerary representations, there is a tree characterized as a palm tree (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 36–37, nn. IV.21, IV.28, V.4). Indeed, it is depicted with thick, arched and drooping branches. In these kinds of depictions, the palm tree is displayed not only as a tree of life, but it likely suggests the world beyond, as on the Minoan/Mycenaean *larnakes*.

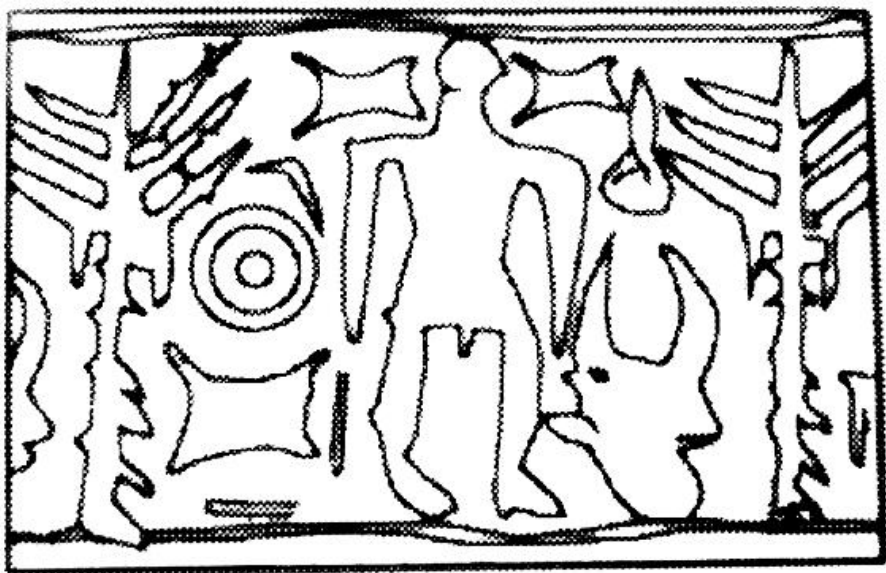


Figure 4: Cylinder seal in Common Style of unknown provenance (from Graziadio 2003, 29, fig. 1.4).

In Cyprus, the connection of the palm tree with cults is best exemplified in the numerous representations on cylinder seals, whose use seems to be limited from the end of the XV century to the

beginning of the XII century BC. The Cypriot cylinder seals are subdivided into three classes defined on the basis of the styles through which they are realized, that are named Elaborate, Derivative and Common (Porada 1948; Kenna 1971). On the Cypriot seals in Elaborate and Derivative Styles, which are the most indebted to the Near Eastern glyptic, the scenes are formal and usually depict ritual performances, mainly involving animal-head ministrants bringing offerings to crowned and robed goddesses. Among them, there are many seals particularly dependent on Near Eastern models, since they depict a sacred tree flanked by animals, mostly caprids, lions or fabulous animals, such as griffins. On some of these seals the sacred tree is clearly identifiable as a palm tree (Kenna 1971, n. 71), whereas on others, it seems to be a hybrid form. The latter commonly consists of a stem with a palmette flanked by two volutes: the palmette is usually composed by short radiating lines around a globe, while the volutes are generally ending with a curl or circle (Kenna 1971, nn. 77–78).

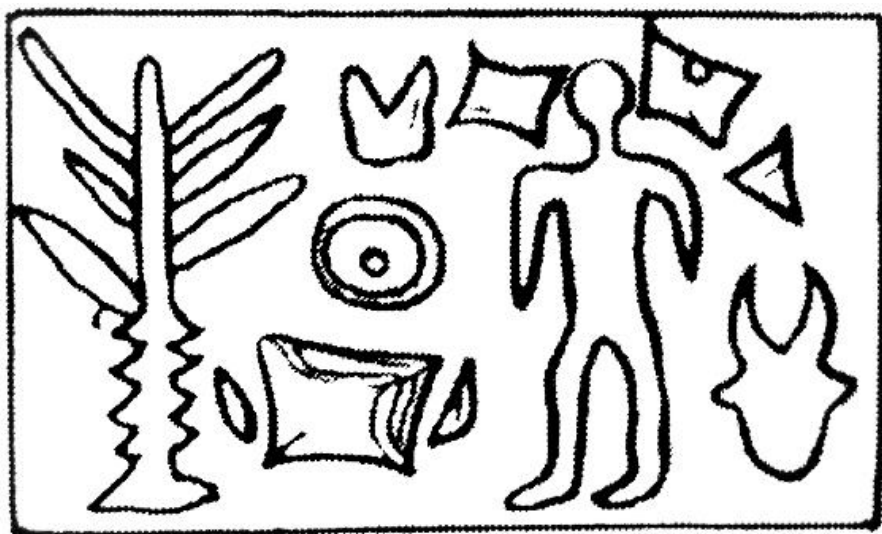


Figure 5: Cylinder seal in Common Style from the region of Enkomi (from Graziadio 2003, 29, fig. 1.8).

On the contrary, the third group of Cypriot seals in Common Style² is characterised by schematic and stylistic representations, which much differ from those depicted on seals in Elaborate and Derivative Styles. The scenes usually illustrate ritual performances, where the animals are real, not fabulous, and many sacred symbols are involved. The most common and explicit representation of the palm tree is properly on seals in Common Style. Here, the palm tree is usually represented in a realistic and naturalistic way, meaning that the

engravers wanted to properly represent this kind of tree.

Among the seals in Common Style there is a peculiar group consisting of eleven seals (Graziadio 2003, nn. 1–11, Figs. 1.1–1.10, 2.1) all decorated with the same motifs (Figs. 1–8): 1) one standing figure with arms extended vertically down the body; 2) two *oxhide* ingots situated at the two sides of the head; 3) a bucranium; 4) one or more centred circles or circular motifs; 5) one or more quadrangular or rectangular motifs, interpreted by Graziadio as ingots (2003). Sometimes, on the seals there are also 6) pairs of horns; 7) incurved elements and 8) triangular motifs.

In his seminal work on the cylinder seals in Common Style, Graziadio has unified all these seals into the same group, named Group 1,3 as they show iconographic and thematic affinities. In this paper, I will focus only on the eleven seals where the tree is undoubtedly interpretable as a palm tree. Although the representation of these seals is very stylized, the motif of the palm tree is depicted in a realistic way. Indeed, it shows a dentated trunk terminating with symmetrical branches, three on the right and three on the left (Graziadio 2003, nn. 1–11, Figs. 1.1–1.10, 2.1). All the aforementioned elements of the composition are rarely in contact with each other and, although they seem scattered, instead they are regularly set in the same manner. The standing figure is always depicted between the bucranium on one side and the rectangular motif associated with circular motif, on the other (Figs. 1–8). The human figure is in a passive posture and seems to be connected with the ingots. In her work, Porada has focused on the sacred connotation of the bucrania, as well as on the connection with ingots (Porada 1976, 102); on the basis of these elements, she suggested that the standing figure represented on the seals is a deity, who, by virtue of the ingot, could be associated with the copper industry. Other scholars have, instead, interpreted the standing figure as an ingot-bearer in front of a tree (Knapp 1986a, 41) or as a servant in copper industry (Webb 1999, 276).

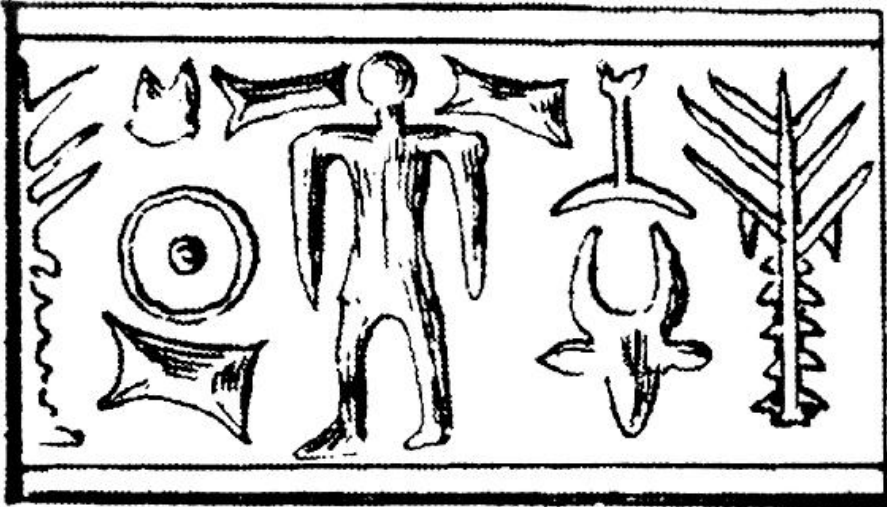


Figure 6: Cylinder seal in Common Style of unknown provenance (from Graziadio 2003, 32, fig. 2.1).

Concerning the objects depicted on the seals, the bucranium is always set near the standing figure, below in the seal, while the quadrangular motif is set below the circular motif or between two of them. The quadrangular motifs were interpreted by Graziadio as ingots (2003), while no interpretation was given for the circular motifs. Actually, there are some quadrangular motifs (Figs. 1, 3, 7) which are readable as ingots (Graziadio 2003, 33; see also Caloi 2006), while there are others which could be interpreted as altars (Lubsen-Admiral 1982, 43), as they are bordered by incurved elements, reminding Minoan and Mycenaean models (Figs. 2, 4–6, 8). The quadrangular motifs are often represented under the circular motifs (Figs. 2–6, 8), therefore, if the quadrangular motifs were altars, the circular elements could be interpreted as dates, the fruits of the palm tree. Indeed, the circles are always depicted below the palm tree, and there are also some seals showing schematic trees, interpreted as palm trees by many scholars, where the circular motifs are symbolically the fruits of the plant (Danthine 1937, pl. 179, nn. 1067–1069).



Figure 7: Cylinder seal in Common Style from Ayia Paraskevi (from Graziadio 2003, 29, fig. 1.10).

Moreover, on this group of seals, there are also some motifs which are reasonably interpretable as horns (Figs. 1, 5–8), and some triangular motifs which appear to be bones or fragmentary parts of animals (Figs. 1, 3–4, 7–8); the latter are strikingly similar to the triangular shape of the scapulae. The bucrania, referring to the sacrifice of a bull, as well as the horns, likely belonging to goats, are both reminders of sacrificial rituals. If the triangular motifs can be effectively interpreted as scapulae, there would be an assemblage of animal remains, easily connected to sacrifices. It is now relevant to draw attention on the assemblages of animal remains from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi (Courtois 1971 Figs. 1–2), where many animal bones, mostly of caprids (sheep/goat), as well as “incised and unincised ox scapulae and ox skulls and horns” (Webb 2001, 74) were found. As pointed out by Webb, not much attention has been devoted to these animal remains, although they could be remnants of meals, as well as of sacrificial rituals in honour of the god.

Since the elements represented on seals in Common Style could be read as assemblages of animal remains recalling sacrificial rituals, I wonder whether the realistic depiction of the palm tree may be explained as the sacred tree connected to the deity, and especially the tree which marks the spot of the deity. I therefore suggest that the palm tree associated with some specific elements, such as bucrania, horns and bones, could refer to the performance of sacrificial rituals. If this is the case, the standing figure may represent a man or a woman

involved in sacrificial rituals in honour of the deity, which is here embodied by the palm tree. Moreover, due to the regular and continuous presence of *oxhide* ingots on seal depictions, it may be suggested that the sacrificial rituals were related to some deity connected with metallurgical activities.



Figure 8: Cylinder seal in Common Style of unknown provenance (from Graziadio 2003, 32, fig. 2.1).

In addition, to support the hypothesis that the palm tree may be connected to sacrificial rituals not only in the Aegean, but also in the Cypriot figurative art, I will focus my attention on two Mycenaean *rhyta* decorated with palm trees found in Cyprus, as well as on a Cypriot *kalathos* retrieved from Kouklia-Xerolimni. Both the Mycenaean *rhyta* were found at Myrtou-Pigadhes and are painted with a horizontal series of stylised palm trees (Koehl 2006, 159, nn. 607, 697, fig. 32). It is noteworthy that these ritual vessels, which are libation vases mostly belonging to implements connected to sacrifices, were likely imported for the same function. In particular, the *rhyton* n. 607 from Myrtou-Pigadhes was found in Room 15 of the sanctuary (Taylor 1957, 22, Fig. 7), and interpreted as probably discarded with cult implements, during a clearing of the sanctuary's main court (Koehl 2006, 349).

The *kalathos* from Kouklia-Xerolimni (Iacovou 1988, n. 29, Figs. 64–73), dating to the XI century BC, is much more interesting because it is a Cypriot product in Proto White Painted Ware found in a funerary context, and which imitates a typical Mycenaean shape. Its representation is particularly remarkable since it depicts a man striking a bull or a beast near a sacrificial table; on the left of the scene there is a stylised palm tree (Iacovou 1988, n. 29, Fig. 68). It appears to illustrate a scene of sacrifice, recalling the Minoan representation painted on the famous Minoan *larnax* retrieved from

Kastelli Pediadas (Rethemiotakis 1997), where, however, the act of sacrifice is more manifest, as the horned animal is on a sacrificial table with an arrow stuck in its back. In fact, according to N. Marinatos (1986, 42), in the Minoan/Mycenaean world the killing of an animal by hunting has to be considered an animal sacrifice. In both the depictions the animal sacrifices seem to be performed in front of a palm tree, which may be the symbol of the epiphany of the deity.

In conclusion, there is nothing new to assert that the palm tree is considered a sacred tree in Cyprus as well. Nevertheless, on Cypriot artefacts, the palm tree is represented not only as a tree of life, dependent on Near Eastern models, but it represents also other several meanings. Indeed, we have seen that the use of Minoan/Mycenaean symbols integrates the iconography of the palm tree as part of funerary scenes (scene with chariots), where the value of the palm tree is that to remind to a world beyond. Thus, it becomes the iconographic expression of the rebirth, the symbol of the resurgence. Furthermore, in Cyprus the palm tree is frequently present in scenes depicting ritual performances and mostly involving sacred symbols, making it likely that also in Cyprus, the palm tree is strictly connected with the deity, and especially with rituals in honour of the deity, such as sacrifice, libations and offering. I did not treat here the famous Cypriot four-sided stand from Kourion (Papasavvas 2009), as the tree is not clearly interpreted as a palm tree; nevertheless, as the four figures of the stand are performing different rituals before it, if the tree were in effect a palm tree, it would mean that it is the tree which best represents the deity, becoming the god or goddess recipient of the offerings.

In this brief paper, I propose that in Cyprus, as well as in Crete, the representation of the palm tree may be especially involved in sacrificial rituals, as the unquestionable depiction of the palm tree on many seals in Common Style and on significant ritual vessels, such as *rhyta* and *kalathoi*, seems to suggest. On the seals in Common Style the palm tree is always associated with those symbolic artefacts, such as bucrania and horns, which refer to bulls and goats, whereas on the aforementioned ritual vessels the palm tree is even connected with the sacrificial victims themselves. The hypothesis is strongly supported by the iconography of the palm tree on glyptic and ceramic objects, nonetheless, I wish the future research will enrich our knowledge on the topic.

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1 Other significant seals which depict bulls or goats standing or lying on a sacrificial table, with an incurved palm leaning over them, are reported by N. Marinatos 1984, 117–118.

2 For the Cypriote seals in Common Style see the works by Mazzone (1986) and Salje (1990), and more recently the paper by Graziadio (2003).

3 In his work, Graziadio has described all the thirteen seals of its Group 1, giving information about the provenance and the relating bibliography of each specimen (Graziadio 2003, 28–31, nn. 1–13, Figs. 1.1–1.10, 2.1–2.3).



LANDSCAPE AND URBAN ORGANIZATION



Tracing Hellenistic Salamis

Dimitris Vitas

Salamis was one the most important cities of ancient Cyprus with a long history of almost 18 centuries. Within this long period the city passed through many phases of flourishing and decline. In my opinion, the most interesting period of these many years was that of the Hellenistic, as it was the transition between the glorious Classical city of Evagoras I and the monumental city of the Roman era.

Our knowledge for that period, however, is totally obscured due to many reasons. The most important is the history of the city itself, extending from the 11th century BC to the 7th century AD. Through all these centuries, Salamis underwent many construction and reconfiguration phases and for that reason trying to locate Hellenistic remains within a chronological spectrum of 18 centuries, is very difficult. Another reason is the short period of just 22 years, of organized archaeological research at the site of Salamis that was interrupted abruptly in the summer of 1974, due to the invasion of the Turkish military forces in Cyprus and the occupation of the northern part of the island. During this period the interest of the excavators was focused upon the necropolis of the city, as well as by the Roman and Byzantine monuments that came to light, leaving the lower Hellenistic and Classical layers uninvestigated.

Salamis was founded on the eastern shore of Cyprus, just north of the estuary of Pedaios River (Fig. 1). According to legend, it was built by Teukros, son of the mythical king of Salamis in Attica, Telamon (Chavane & Yon 1978, nos 106–128). Actually, the city was founded in the middle of the 11th century BC by the inhabitants of the Late Bronze Age town of Enkomi, who moved seawards, probably due to the siltation of the navigable estuary of Pedaios river. The initial town occupied just a small area on the top of a small plateau that rises some meters north of the riverbank of Pedaios (Fig. 2). Part of the city-wall which was discovered on the slope of this small plateau, at a height of about 7 meters, belongs to that era (Karageorhis 1966, 348; Karageorhis 1967a, 325; Karageorhis 1969, 544–546; 1970a, 268–269; Jehasse, L. 1978, 1–2; Pouilloux 1969, 45–46; Jehasse J. 1980,

147–152). A defensive bastion, a few metres SW of the wall (Karageorghis 1967a, 325–326; Karageorghis 1969, 541–544; Karageorghis 1970a, 268–269; Jehasse L. 1978, 2; Pouilloux 1969, 46–47; Jehasse J. 1980, 151–152), as well as a sanctuary that was constructed just behind the city-wall (Karageorghis 1974, 879–881), dedicated probably to the cult of the Great God, judging by the discovery of many votive statuettes depicting bulls and small busts of bull-heads¹ (Calvet 1976, 143–151), belong to that era too. A few trenches opened west and north of the sanctuary (Karageorghis 1966, 347–348; Karageorghis 1968, 326–327; Karageorghis 1971, 396–397; Pouilloux 1969, 43–45) revealed architectural remains (parts of floors and walls) probably belong to houses that existed around the sanctuary.

The main reason that dictated the founding of Salamis was the need for a port. That means that the city from the beginning, provided some port facilities constructed in the estuary of Pedaios river, probably below the aforementioned sanctuary.² In that case, the initial town of Salamis besides the plateau, probably occupied a small area around its harbour, next to the riverbank of Pedaios.

The Archaic Salamis developed upon the city of the 11th century; the city-wall was kept in use from the 11th to the 6th century BC and so did the sanctuary. However, during this period Salamis became one of the most important Cypriot cities. The reign of Euelthon (mid-6th century BC) was a period of flourishing growth. He was the first Cypriot king that issued coins in Cyprus, while his reputation expanded beyond the island. Herodotus (IV, 162) mentions that Euelthon offered a censer to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Within the same passage, the historian mentions as well, the incident with Pheretime, queen of Cyrene, who asked help from the Salaminian king in order to restore her authority in her country. Herodotus' passage is clear evidence of Euelthon's "international" reputation. So, it is clear enough that under his reign, Salamis became well-known in the eastern Mediterranean, and that it developed and expanded, but it is impossible to say to what degree, due to the limited archaeological investigation. The excavation of the necropolis of Salamis (Fig. 3), that extended west of the city (Karageorghis 1967b, 1970b, 1973–1974, 1978), provides a clear indication of the development and flourishing of the city during the Archaic period.

By the close of the Archaic period, Salamis overcame the other Cypriot cities in wealth and power. Unfortunately, the image of the Classical city remain unknown from archaeological point of view, since the excavations that brought to light constructions of the 11th century, as well as of the Archaic city, did not reveal the Classical layers. The absence, therefore, of the stratigraphical sequence means

that the city of the Classical era moved slightly to another direction, probably towards the harbour. The most probable location for the city's initial harbour was the gulf of the estuary of Pedaios river, where some port installations have been detected (Flemming 1974, 169–170; Theodoulou 2006, 194) (Fig. 4). Moreover, R. Pococke, an English prelate and anthropologist of the 18th century, well known for his travel writings and diaries, on the map of Salamis that he drew, located the harbour of the city in the estuary of Pedaios, in a small gulf formed on the northern bank (Fig. 5). However, it's quite difficult to have a clear image of this harbour due to major siltation problems caused by the deposits of the river and to alteration of the shoreline. So, if the harbour was truly located at that point and the city developed around it, then we must assume that Classical Salamis located between the riverbank of Pedaios and the slope of the small plateau.

Figure 1: Salamis' location within the island of Cyprus (Yon 1980a, Pl. II).

A clue for the harbour of Salamis comes from an extremely interesting monument found in Kition. Actually, it is a stone base of a victory trophy, which bears a long inscription in Phoenician, dating from the beginning of the 4th century BC (Yon and Szyner 1992, 157–165). This trophy, according to the inscription, was dedicated by the king of Kition, Milkyaton, to the god Ba'al-Oz, for the naval victory he won over his enemies and their allies, the Paphians. Undoubtedly, the enemies of Milkyaton, during this period, were the Salaminians and their king Evagoras I, as attested by Diodoros (XIV, 98.1–2). So, the conclusion that is derived from this inscription is that Salamis at the beginning of the 4th century BC deployed a military

fleet, which, in the topography of the city, implies the existence of a military port equipped with *neosoikoi* and probably a shipyard.

Another building of Classical Salamis was probably a sanctuary dedicated to a goddess of nature and fertility (Aphrodite or Artemis, the Hellenised version of the Great Goddess). The presence of such a building is suggested by a mass of terracotta figurines, depicting a female deity, dated between 5th and 4th century BC (Karageorghis 1967a, 325–326; Karageorghis 1969, 543; Pouilloux 1969, 47; Monloup 1994), and the discovery nearby of architectural remains of an ionic building (Karageorghis 1969, 542). As for the location of the building, judging by the area where the figurines were found (c. 10 m SE of the defensive bastion), it should have stood NW of the city-wall of the Geometric and Archaic period.

Another deity worshiped in Classical Salamis was Zeus, who replaced the cult of the Great God, the most important deity of the town in the preceding periods. This religious succession occurred probably by the end of the 5th century BC, during the reign of Evagoras I (411–374/3 BC), the king who followed the most hellenocentric policy and tried to point out the divine origin of the Teukrides' dynasty, considered to be Zeus' descendants. Through the Cypriot discourses of Isocrates this effort is quite clear (Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 12–18, *Nicocles*, 26–28, 42). Moreover, another point that is worth mentioning is that after the sea fight of Knidos, where the Athenian fleet destroyed the fleet of the Spartans, with Evagoras' assistance, the Athenians honoured the Salaminian king by erecting his statue next to the statue of Zeus Saviour in the Basilike Stoa of Athens (Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 57; Pausanias, I, 3.2).

All the above is clear evidence that during Evagoras' I reign, the cult of Zeus became extremely important for the city and probably during that period his cult replaced that of Great God. This means that either Zeus worshiped in the sanctuary of the Great God or a new one built for the city's new cult; however, the location of this sanctuary is not quite clear. The site known as "Daemonostasion" could have been the place of such construction; it is the most imposing site within the city's borders and for this reason the most suitable for the setting of a sanctuary dedicated to city's most important deity. Moreover, in this area many pottery fragments have been found, and among them was one bearing the inscription ...ΣΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Tubbs and Munro 1891, 93 no. 2a; Jehasse, L. 1978, no. 50) which could be restored as [Διὸς Σωτῆρος (of Saviour Zeus). On another one was engraved the inscription ΣΩΤ (Tubbs and Munro 1891, 93 no. 2c; Jehasse, L. 1978, no. 52), derived probably from the word Σωτ[ῆρος] (Saviour). Two more fragments bore the inscriptions - - - ε εὐχῆν and θεοῦ (Tubbs and Munro 1891, 93 no. 2b-c; Jehasse, L. 1978, nos 51, 53). All these

inscribed fragments indicated that somewhere nearby a sanctuary was located dedicated to a Saviour God, probably to Zeus Saviour.

Isocrates' discourses dedicated to Evagoras I could offer partial information for Classical Salamis, but someone who is analyzing his work must be very careful, because these are actually propagandistic texts, written to fulfil political purposes. Isocrates was a flamboyant orator, well-known for his Greco-centric ideas, who regarded Evagoras I as the ideal leader, who could unify all the Greeks in a war against the Persians. While Isocrates exaggerates in many points, there are passages in his work where someone could discover some obscure information about the image of Salamis under the reign of Evagoras I.

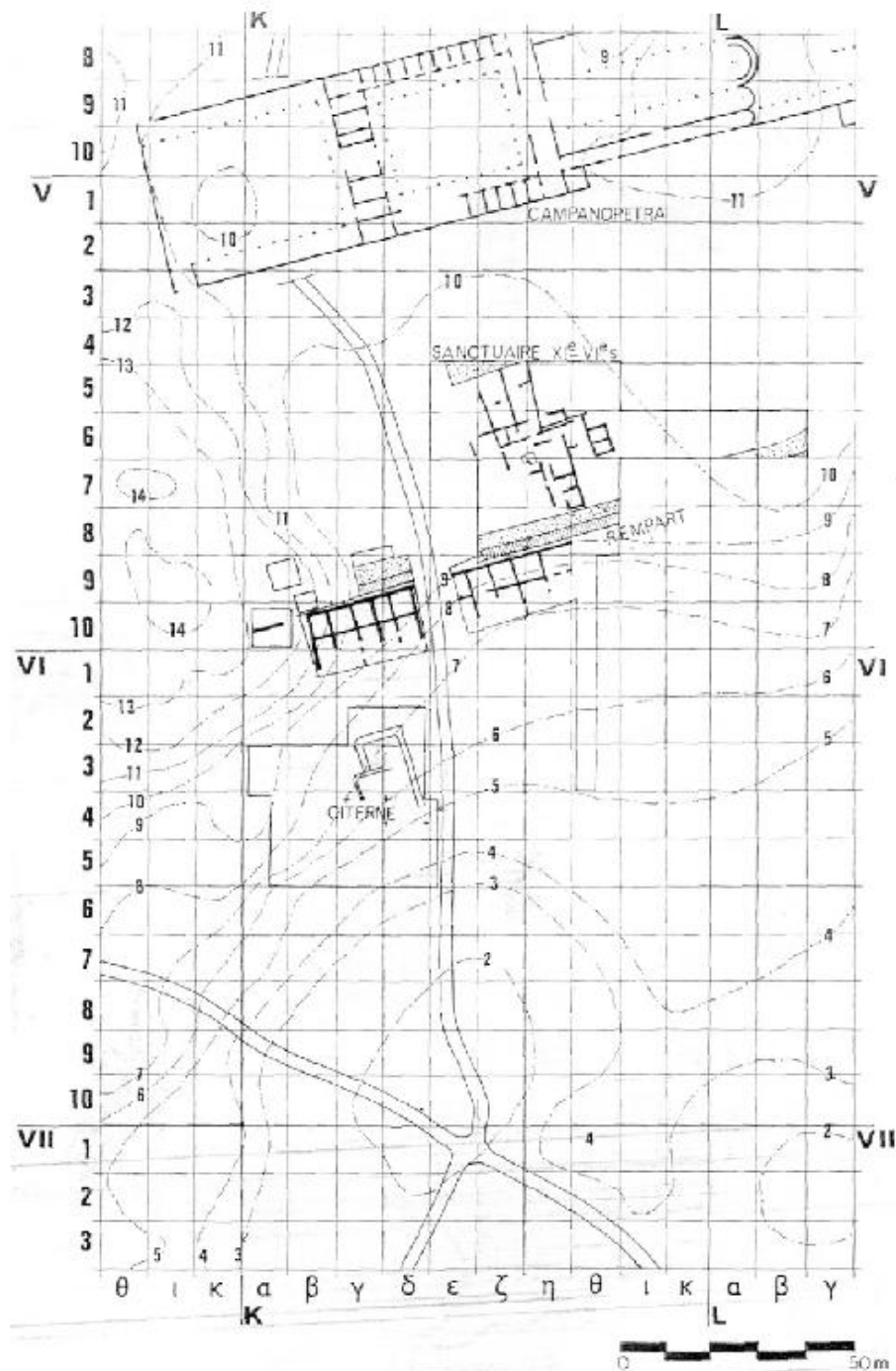


Figure 2: The remains of the city-wall, of the bastion and of the sanctuary. All these buildings constructed in the 11th century BC, but survived up to the 6th century BC (Yon 1980a, Pl. IV).

According to one of these passages, (Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 47)

Evagoras I developed commerce and the arts, organized the harbour, expanded the boundaries of the city and fortified it, built triremes and augmented Salamis' prestige to a point that it was inferior to none of the Greek cities. In an attempt to distinguish between exaggeration and reality in Isocrates' passage, we must first clarify some details; judging from the remains of the Geometric and Archaic periods, Salamis was an extended, fortified city with a harbour and vigorous commerce. Consequently, what Isocrates probably means in his passage is that Evagoras I renovated and reorganized the city harbour with a construction of modern port installations. One of these installations seems to be a shipyard for the building of triremes and additionally many ship-sheds for their shelter, constructions that were indirectly confirmed by the naval trophy discovered in Kition. Additionally, Evagoras I developed the area around the port by constructing an *agora*, storehouses, shops and other commercial facilities, actions that led gradually to the expansion of the city limits. The new quarter that emerged by the development of Salamis was enclosed by new city-walls. These probably extended upon the harbour breakwater, fortifying its basin as well and forming a κλειστός λιμὴν, a harbour that could easily close, a description that is given by the ancient geographer Pseudoskylax (Periplus, 103 = GGM I, 77).

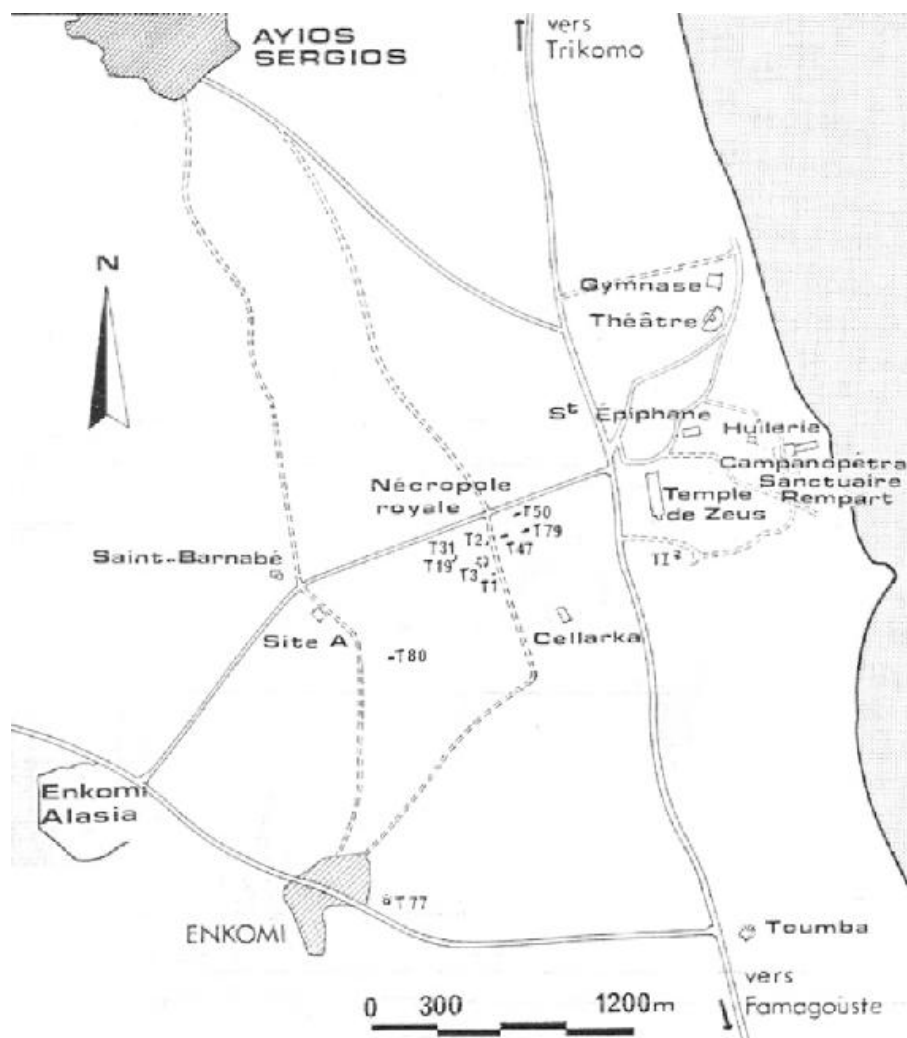


Figure 3: The city site of Salamis with its Royal Necropolis and the Necropolis of "Kellarka" (Yon 1980a, Pl. III).

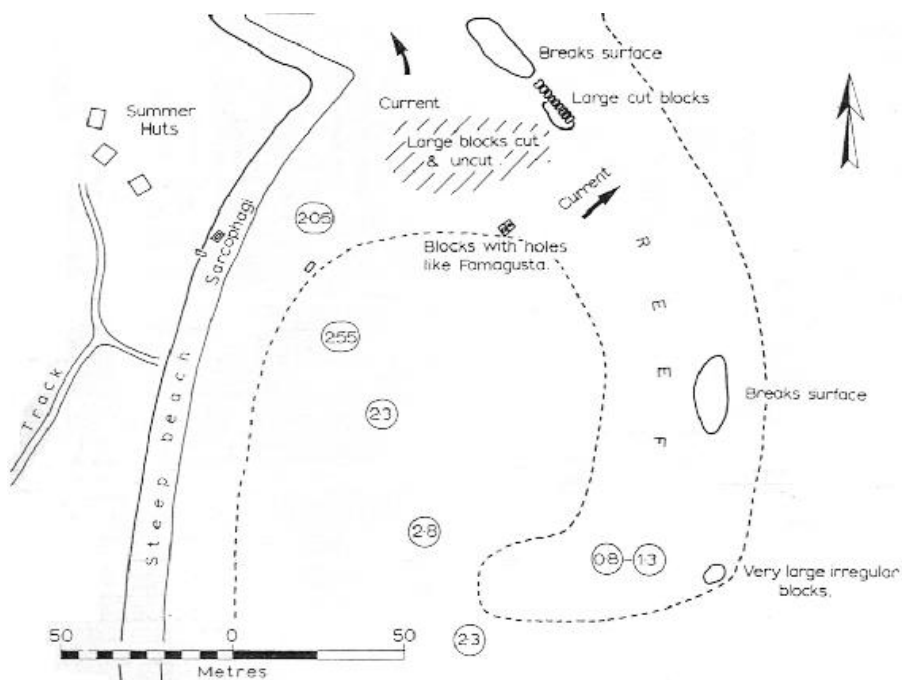


Figure 4: Submerged architectural remains in the sea area, south of the city (Flemming 1974, 169 fig. 5).

At the end of his passage Isocrates mentions that Evagoras I adorned the city with public buildings that it was inferior to none of the Greek cities. From archaeological point of view no building of the Classical era has been spotted. However, there is another passage in Isocrates' speech for Evagoras I, where the Athenian orator speaking to Nicocles, Evagoras' son, says:

When I saw, O Nicocles, that you were honouring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and magnificent offerings, according to custom, but also with dances, musical exhibitions, and athletic contests as well as with horse-races and trireme races, ...

(*Evagoras*, 1)

According to this passage, it seems that the celebrations took place in three different phases and in different places.

The dances and the musical exhibitions could have been carried out in a theatre, but there is no other clue for the existence of such building in Salamis of the 4th century BC. The athletic contests, on the other hand, are a serious indication of the existence of a *gymnasium* in pre-Hellenistic Salamis, probably somewhere close to the burial place of Evagoras I. The *gymnasium* initially was a building constructed *extra muros* and was very closely associated with the cult of a local deity or hero (Delorme 1960, 24–25, 272–276). As for the horse-races, any

wide area *extra muros* would have been sufficient to hold them. As a note of caution, it is worth mentioning that two British archaeologists, H. A. Tubbs and R. Munro, who were the first to hold an organized archaeological research in Salamis in 1891, traced the outline of an hippodrome, about a kilometre SW of the city (Fig. 6), but they never excavated the site in order to verify or to decline their discovery (Tubbs and Munro 1891, 106). Moreover, some metres west of the supposed hippodrome is located the necropolis of “Kellarka” (Karageorghis 1970b, pt. 3), which was the main necropolis of the Classical city and perhaps it consisted the burial place of king Evagoras I. In summarizing the whole topography of the area SW of Salamis (necropolis of Classical period, where king Evagoras I was probably buried, a nearby supposed hippodrome or stadium, the running water of Pediaios river) we have the perfect setting for the foundation of Salamis first *gymnasium*. This conclusion also agrees with Isocrates’ passage: *Tomb of Evagoras... athletic contests... horse-races*. Finally, the trireme races is another clue for the existence of a shipyard and ship-sheds in Salamis, as well as for a possible inner division of the harbour’s basin into a military and commercial harbour.

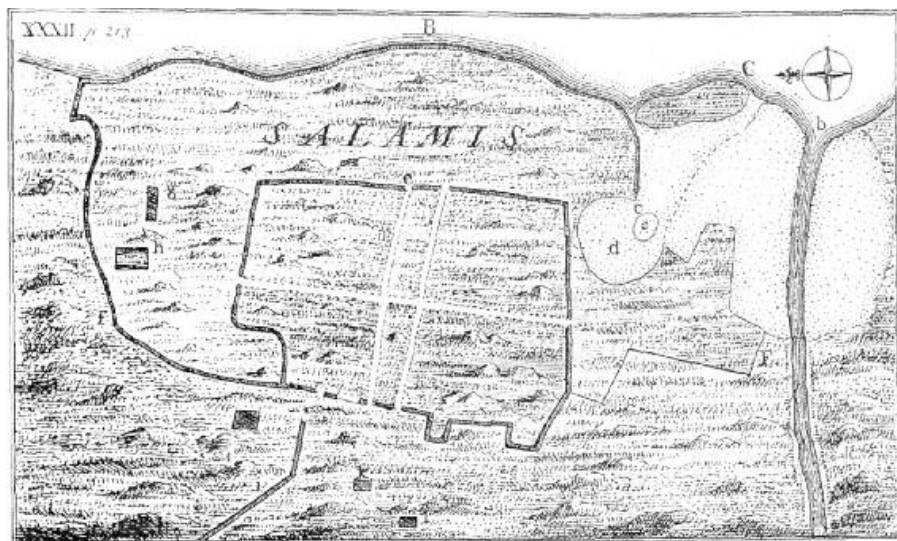


Figure 5: The plan of Salamis drawn by R. Pococke (Pavlidis 1994, 769).

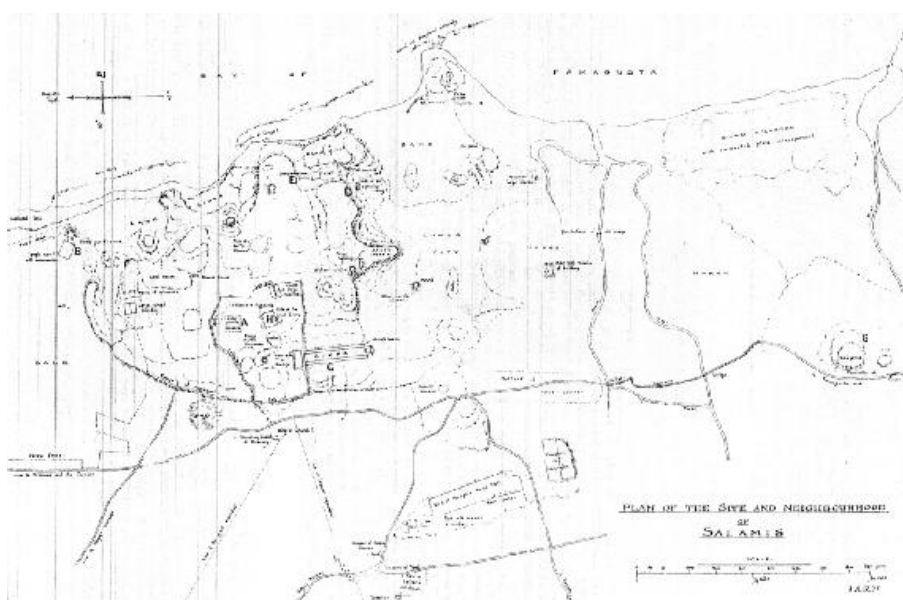


Figure 6: The site of Salamis sketched by H. A. Tubbs and R. Munro (Tubbs & Munro 1891).

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, Salamis was found to have more or less the same expansion and look that was achieved during the late Classical period, since no other significant structural phase seems to have taken place in the city. However, in the 2nd century BC, if not a little earlier, the city seems to have entered into a new structural phase (Fig. 7). It is not only the temple of Zeus (Argout *et al.* 1975, 122–141; Callot 1985, 363–368), that was found on the west side of the city, that belongs to that period, but also the foundations of a building found NE of the monument known as the “Olive Press” (Karageorhis 1973, 683; Karageorhis 1974, 879; Argout *et al.* 1980, 11), as well as the inscriptions and the foundations of another construction site were spotted at the area of the Roman *gymnasium* (Megaw 1957, 28–29). Although few, these findings indicate that Salamis in the 2nd century BC extended northwards, and perhaps a little bit westwards.

But, what are the reasons that led to this expansion of the city? Was the Classical Salamis too small and needed further expansion or there was something else? The comparative analysis of two events that took place in the 3rd and at the beginning of the 2nd century BC indicates that there was a kind of malfunction in Salamis. The first fact was the founding by king Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Arsinoe, a new city close to Salamis, probably in the region of modern Famagusta. The second fact was the transfer of capital from Salamis to Nea Paphos. So, the main problem that faced Salamis could not be anything other than the siltation of its harbour, which would have

begun to bog down, almost 2 centuries after its renovation by Evagoras I.

A new harbour for Salamis was constructed north of the first one, but its exact location remains obscure due to the heavy alteration of the seashore. A short underwater investigation in 1955 that took place at the coastal area SE of the Roman monuments, discovered remains of a possible breakwater (Fig. 8), which probably belonged to that harbour (Megaw 1955, 33; Theodoulou 2006, 197). Surely, the construction of the new harbour dragged the city northwards, but this does not mean that the older quarters were left desolate and abandoned. Probably, the new harbour would have been accompanied by the construction of a new *agora*, where commerce would have taken place. If Salamis, along with the new harbour, indeed, received a new *agora*, then the old one could have turned into a political *agora*, where the administrative institutions of the city could have been based.

The existence of a political centre in Salamis actually appears through the study of the inscriptions found in the city; while most of the inscriptions dating up to the mid-2nd century BC declare the faith and the obedience of the dedicators towards the king and the royal family, from that period onwards they refer more and more to selfadministrative institutions, such as a *demos* or *polis* of Salaminians and a *boule* (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, nos 36, 69, 78, 82, 92, 99, 100). That means that the *agora* (probably the old one) gradually turned into a political – administrative centre of Salamis, a transformation that was probably accompanied with the nearby construction of administrative buildings. In a passage from the letter of the Roman philosopher Cicero to Atticus (*ad Atticum*, VI, 1.6), it is quite clear that Salamis included a *bouleuterion* already in the 1st century BC. Moreover, an inscription found in the village of Limpia, close to Salamis, dating from the mid-2nd century BC refers to a *chreophylakion* (debt-house) that probably existed in Salamis (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 90). Surely this *chreophylakion* could not stand as a separate building and it was probably located in the city's archives, which in turn, would be lodged in a *stoa* of the *agora* or in the *bouleuterion*.

Surely, the most representative and well-confirmed archaeological building of the new quarter of Salamis is the temple of Zeus, built in the SW part of the city. As is mentioned above, Zeus Soter seems to have been worshiped in Salamis during the reign of Evagoras I, since he was considered the patron god of Teukrides' dynasty. The new temple was dedicated to another hypostasis of Zeus, that of Olympios, a conclusion that is derived from the inscriptions found scattered within the city limits, all dating from the end of the 2nd

century BC onward (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, nos 21, 27, 46, 47, 48, 102).

Apart from Zeus, there were certainly many more gods and goddesses worshiped in Hellenistic Salamis, known, however, just through the inscriptions. One of these goddesses was Aphrodite, judging by two inscriptions dating in the 3rd century BC (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, nos 41, 42). Moreover, the Roman poet Ovidius in his *Metamorphoses* (XIV, 759–761) mentions the existence in the city of a temple for *Venus Prospiciens*. It is possible that the cult of Aphrodite replaced the cult of an older goddess of nature and fertility, who were probably worshiped in a sanctuary close to “Daemonostation” around 5th and 4th century BC, as was mentioned before.

Another goddess worshiped in Salamis was Athena; her cult was indicated by an inscription found in Athens (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 43). Athena’s cult is also mentioned by Porphyrios of Tyr (*De abst.* II, 54–55) as one of the oldest cults in the city. Epigraphic also (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 45, 44) is the testament of the cult of Hercules Kallinikos (2nd century BC) and Hermes Epekoos (1st century BC). The fact that both inscriptions were found within the ruins of the Roman *gymnasium* as well as the close relation between those two gods and athletics, means that the most probable location for their cult was within the *gymnasium*.

Serapis was a deity whose cult was wide-spread during Hellenistic period. An inscription from the second half of the 3rd century BC, found within the city limits, indicates that he was worshiped in Salamis too (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 56). Moreover, Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, philosopher of the 5th century AD mentions that king Nicocreon prayed to Serapis in order to learn the gods’ opinion of him (*Saturnales* I, 20.16–17).

The inscription referring to Serapis also mentions the Gods Euergetes (Benefactors), who are Ptolemy III and Berenike II, giving some clues about the dynastic cult in Salamis. It is worth mentioning that king Ptolemy III was the king that built the Serapeum of Alexandria and so it is very possible that his cult practiced in the same temple with that of Serapis, probably to a Serapeum built in Salamis. In connection with the dynastic cult, one more inscription from the end of the 2nd century BC was found in the ruins of the Roman *gymnasium* (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 81), dedicated by the *gymnasiarch* Simalos to *strategos* Helenos, who bore, among the others titles, that of the priest for life of Queen Cleopatra Thea.

As was mentioned before, it is possible that Salamis constructed a *gymnasium* since Evagoras’ I reign. However, the discovery of seven inscriptions, found gathered in the ruins of the Roman *gymnasium*, bearing the title of *gymnasiarchos*, a kind of director of the institution,

indicates that a *gymnasium* was constructed there at the end of the 3rd or at the beginning of the 2nd century BC (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, nos 44, 45, 65, 66, 81, 97, 101).

Another building that was constructed in mid-Hellenistic Salamis was the theatre. Although there is no archaeological evidence for its presence, the discovery of three inscriptions referring to the *Guild of Artists of Dionysus*, is clear indication for the existence of the specific building (Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, nos 79, 83, 95). This guild was a union of artists having as its main purpose, the presentation of theatrical plays and the organization of many artistic shows (Rostovtzeff 1941, vol. II, 1048–1050, 1085–1086; Mitford 1953, 136–137; Mitford 1959, 121; Fraser 1972, vol. I: 205, vol. II: 870). As concerns the location of the theatre, we must not look for it in the area of the Roman theatre, since no Hellenistic remains were seen there. On the contrary, we must take a closer look at the natural topography of Salamis searching for a slope which was necessary for the construction of the *koelon* of a Greek theatre. Within Salamis' limits such locations were offered by the slopes of the small plateau, while east and west of the "Daemonostation" two natural cavities were formed, ideal for the construction of the *koelon*.

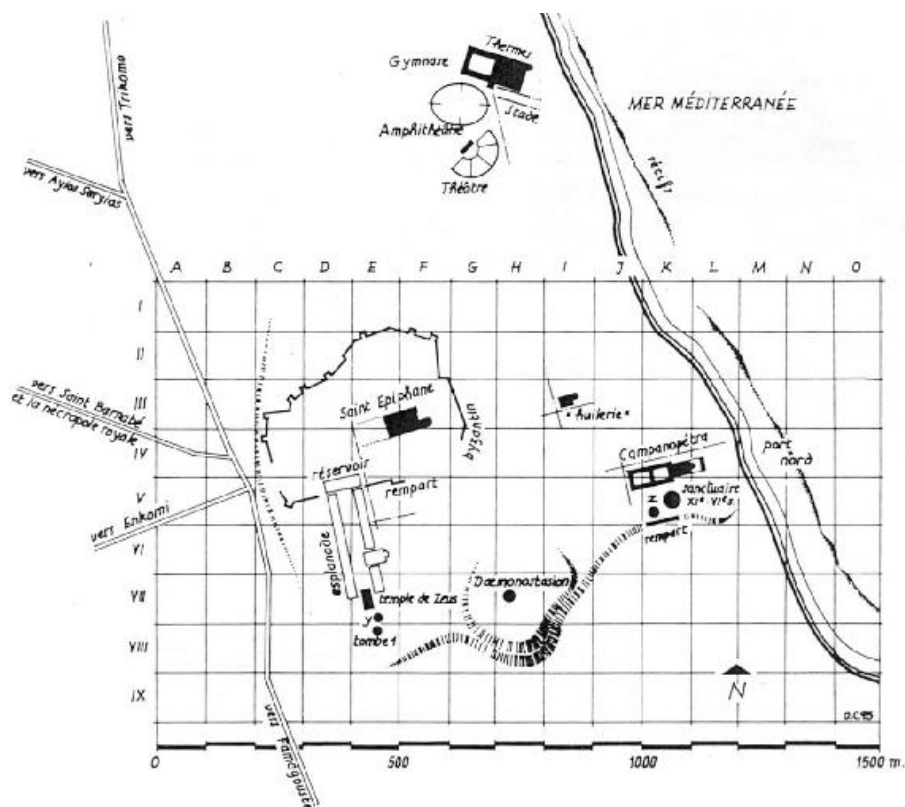


Figure 7: Salamis. The city site with all the important buildings marked upon it (Yon 1993, 140 Fig. 1).

The new quarters of Salamis surrounded probably by an extension of the city-walls, that must have also enclosed the new harbour as well. It is not possible to say up to where the northern part of the new city-walls extended; probably it didn't surpass the area where the monumental buildings of the Roman city have been found, since many scholars believe that the *gymnasium* was standing *extra muros* (Pouilloux 1966, 243 no. 6; Yon 1985, 206; Yon 1993, 146).



Figure 8: The area where a new harbour for Salamis could have created, judging by the opening in the reef (Google Earth).

One last question, concerning the topography of Hellenistic Salamis is that of its town-planning. During the Hellenistic period, most of the new cities founded according to the hippodamian town-planning, consisted in the lining up of horizontal and vertical roads, intersecting in right angles, forming equal *insulae*, as well as in the separation of the city into different domains (sacred, commercial, administrative). In the case of Salamis, no road of the Hellenistic era has been found, while all the buildings that have been excavated, except for the temple of Zeus, belong to later periods. Therefore, it is quite difficult

to say if Salamis was built according to the Hippodamian system or not.

However, if someone takes a closer look at the orientation of the buildings that came to light (Temple of Zeus, Basilica of Campanopetra, Byzantine residence known as the “Olive Press”, Basilica of Saint Epiphianos), it will be clear that it is almost the same, only differing in some degrees (around 12–14) from the north-south and east-west axis. Although these buildings belong to different periods, the fact that all follow the same orientation means that there was an urban plan, traced back to probably the same time as the oldest of these building (the temple of Zeus), in which every new building was subsumed that constructed in Salamis.

This was in general the topography of Hellenistic Salamis as it is revealed through the limited Hellenistic remains, the inscriptions, the philological resources and the study of the landscape. The conclusion that arises from these data is that the early Hellenistic Salamis seems to have kept the image of the Classical city. To summarize, it was located just north of the Pediaios river and was developed around the harbour that was constructed at the river’s estuary. However, the siltation of the harbour forced the city, in the mid-2nd century BC, to extend northwards, around a new harbour that was constructed a little north to the original. This expansion gave a new image to the city, but the siltation problem that it faced was probably one of the main reasons for the transfer of the capital to Nea Paphos.

Surely, this image of Hellenistic Salamis is largely theoretical and the only way to confirm or deny it is through the archaeological research. However, the political problem that Cyprus faced for 36 years, tends to relegate into oblivion Salamis, one of the most important Greek cities of the eastern Mediterranean.

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1 The representation of the Great God of fertility with the shape of a bull was fairly common, not only in the Cypriot cities, but in the broad region of the eastern Mediterranean as well (Yon 1980b, 86–88).

2 Relatively to the close relation between harbours and sanctuaries in the topography of the cities of the Late Bronze Age, see the examples of Palaepaphos and Kition.

Working with water. Procurement, consumption and water-based working activities at Middle Bronze Age Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou (2009–2011 seasons)

Luca Bombardieri, Francesca Chelazzi and Marialucia Amadio

Collected data and results of the last fieldwork seasons at Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou revealed an interesting body of evidence mainly relying on the development of a community and rural settlement, with a peculiar handcraft character, during the Middle Bronze Age period.

The focus of the archaeological research project carried out by the Universities of Torino and Firenze, thanks to the scientific collaboration of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, was upon the use of differently oriented methods, topographical survey, systematic excavations of significant contexts and archaeometric studies on specific material assemblages, in order to approach the site investigation (Bombardieri 2010; 2011; Chelazzi and Davit 2010; Scirè Calabrisotto *et al.* 2012).

The site area of Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou lies on a high plateau on the eastern river bank facing southward the Kouris Dam, just on the border between the Ypsonas and Erimi villages. The site was first identified as a result of a survey project focusing on the middle and lower Kouris Valley (Bombardieri *et al.* 2009a; 2009b). The preliminary evidence paved the way towards further investigations, aiming at a greater clarification of the occupation sequence and an increased understanding of the function and use of the different areas of the site.

The general chronology of the settlement sequence, as recorded by survey collections and excavation results on the top of the hill (workshop complex-Area A), the first lower terrace (domestic quarter-Area B), and the southern cemetery (Area E), hints at occupation throughout two main periods (Periods 1 and 2). At this point the most

attested to is the earlier one, ranging from the beginning to the end of Middle Cypriote period, with two phases attested to within the sequence (Phases A and B); the following period (Period 1), apparently following a lengthy *hiatus*, is related to a possible sporadic use of the site area during the late-Hellenistic and Roman periods (Bombardieri 2009; 2011; Scirè Calabrisotto *et al.* 2012; Bombardieri 2012).

The main aim of this paper is to introduce a preliminary analysis of features and characters of the workshop complex organization, particularly focusing upon the use of water and liquid substances within the working processes performed in the area. The quantities of water and the supply sources will be analyzed, in order to possibly draw a clearer picture of the activities, use and function of the workshop complex.

Hence, we tried a sketch, drawn on two basic evaluation criteria to approach this specific analysis, which revealed an easy application and good final results. The selected basic criteria are:

- Features of the working installations and processed quantities of water and liquid substances;

- Characters and localization of the supplying sources.

Such a double-oriented analysis can produce a tentative answer to the whole basic questions related to this topic: How much water and liquid substances were processed in the workshop complex? Where were they processed? From which sources were they achieved?

The workshop complex: stratigraphy and chronology

The workshop complex cleared on the top mound extends over an area of 20×15 m, which is currently being investigated. This complex highlights the organization of distinctive spaces. The natural limestone bedrock has been carefully worked in order to construct a combined system of deep basins carved at different depths, connected to each other by a series of flow channels, thus outlining five discrete open space working areas (WA I to V) displayed on the northern wing of the workshop. A series of roofed working and storage units extends southward the mentioned open working areas. At this point four were identified (SA I to IV), two of them completely investigated during the 2009–2011 fieldwork seasons, being the others partially over the actual limit of the excavated area (Fig. 1).



Figure 1: Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou. The Workshop Complex on the top mound (Area A).



Figure 2: Workshop Complex. SA I, SA II. The stone thresholds.

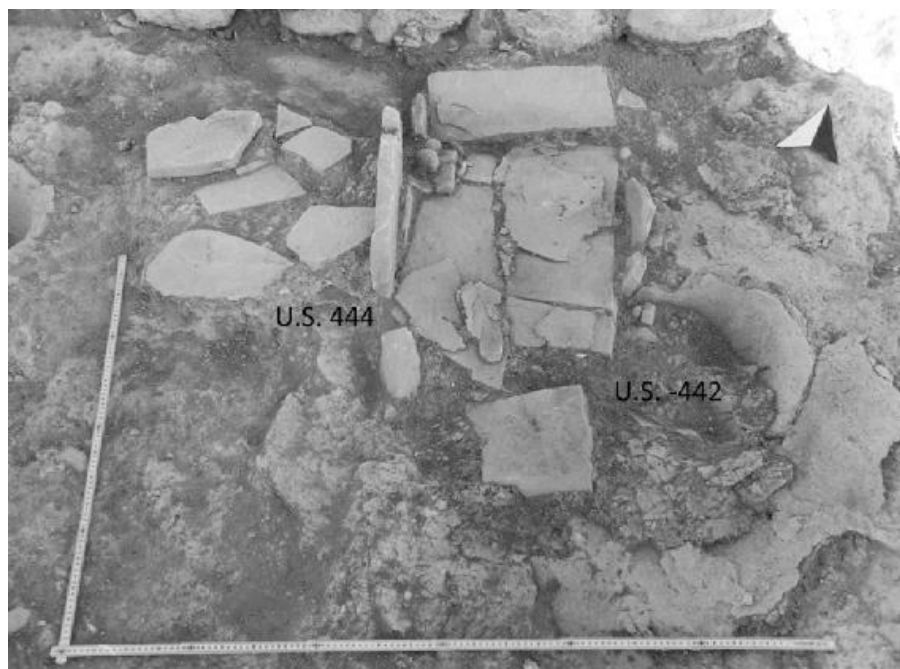


Figure 3: SA II, Room B. Flat stone pavement and bin U.S. 444 (Phase A), built over the emplacement U.S. 442 (Phase B).

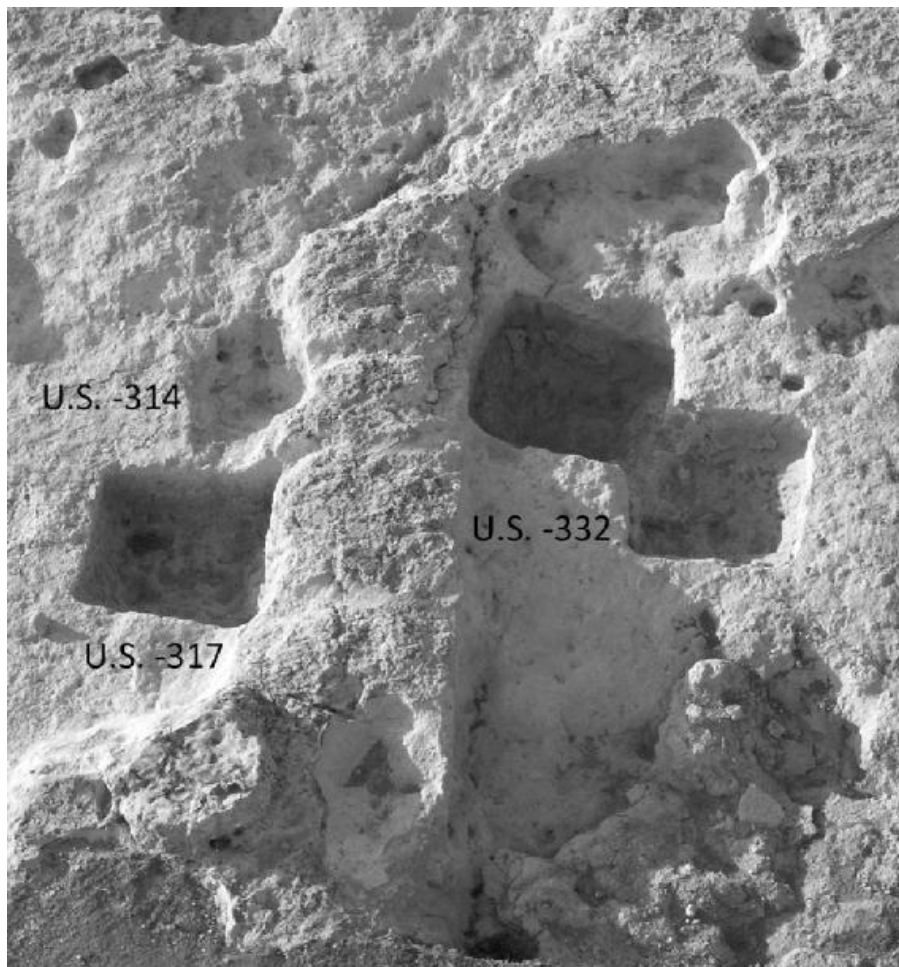


Figure 4: WA II, WA III. Squared basins (Type 1).



Figure 5: WA IV. The squared basin U.S. -373 (Type 1).

The complete extension of SA I was exposed as the entrance to the unit throughout the South-Eastern limit wall. The entrance is characterized by a huge limestone squared block carefully carved in order to create a step to access the floor of the roofed space. The door-socket and locking door devices, completely preserved, were also carved into the stone entrance block (Fig. 2). Opposite to the entrance, in the northern inner area of the room, a set of 4 storage *pithoi* and a group of small vessels were found crushed *in situ*, leaning on the floor or inserted within. Two of the *pithoi* were all around surrounded by a circle of irregular stones in order to fix them and possibly guarantee a better arrangement on the floor (Bombardieri 2011, Fig. 4.2).

The 2011 fieldwork season revealed the complete extension of SA II unit, which extends westward the larger SA I, having the same orientation. SA II is subdivided into two rooms (Rooms A and B) by an inner wall built in dry-stone masonry.

The entrance to the unit throughout the South-Western limit wall of Room B is again characterised by a huge limestone squared block equipped with circular pecked depressions intended for supporting the door pivot.

The large stone thresholds of SA I and SA II find comparisons from Alampra-Mouttes, where a not regularized stone threshold is attested in Building VI, Room 7 (Coleman *et al.* 1996, Pl. 5: c) and from Sotira-Kaminoudhia, where similar entrance blocks, even though not stepped

and considerably smaller than the examples from *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*, were documented from Unit 25 in Area C (Swin 2003, 40; 87, Fig. 2.11).

Thus, Room B of SA II can be considered as a small entrance room intended for storing pots as also confirmed by the presence of some plaster emplacements into the floor, as already recorded by similar devices at *Marki-Alonia*, possibly used for vessels or posts arrangement (Frankel and Webb 2006, LII 1009–1010; LVII 1530; CXII 2923–2924), and at *Sotira-Kaminoudhia* (Swin *et al* 2003, Pl. 2.3a). Section 3 below will be dedicated to a systematic description and a deeper analysis of the working installations within the workshop complex.

As to the building technique, the analysis of the standing and the collapsed structures cleared that limestone slabs were used as basis of standing walls built on limits directly carved on the bedrock: with a bottom part of squared stones and a top elevation in mudbricks and ‘plaster-bricks’ and wooden framed structure.

The stratigraphic deposit cleared by the excavation within SA I and SA II revealed a sequence of episodes of construction and use, sudden destruction and re-occupation on later floors, definitively marking out two following phases of use (Phases A and B) (Bombardieri 2011).

Both in SA I and II the transition to the most recent Phase A is marked by the construction of an upper new floor, made by a white and hard plaster-like layer, which directly leans over the stones debris and beaten mudbricks filling layer corresponding to the collapse of the walls of the former Phase B. The wide plaster floor is contemporary with the construction of small pavements built with flat stone slabs for specific functions, for example in connection with stone basins or bins. This is the case of the slabs made bin Ft. 9 (US 444) in SA II, Room B, which finds strict parallels from *Marki-Alonia* (Frankel and Webb 2006, I–63) (Fig. 3).

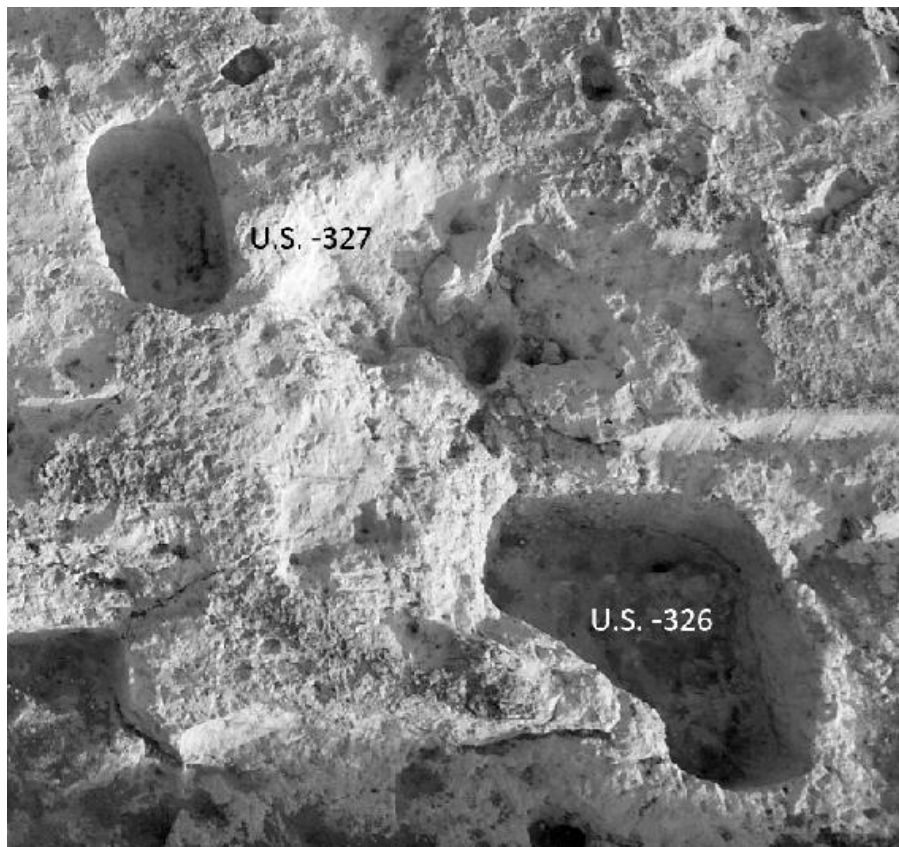


Figure 6: WA I. Elliptic and irregular basins (Types 2 and 4).

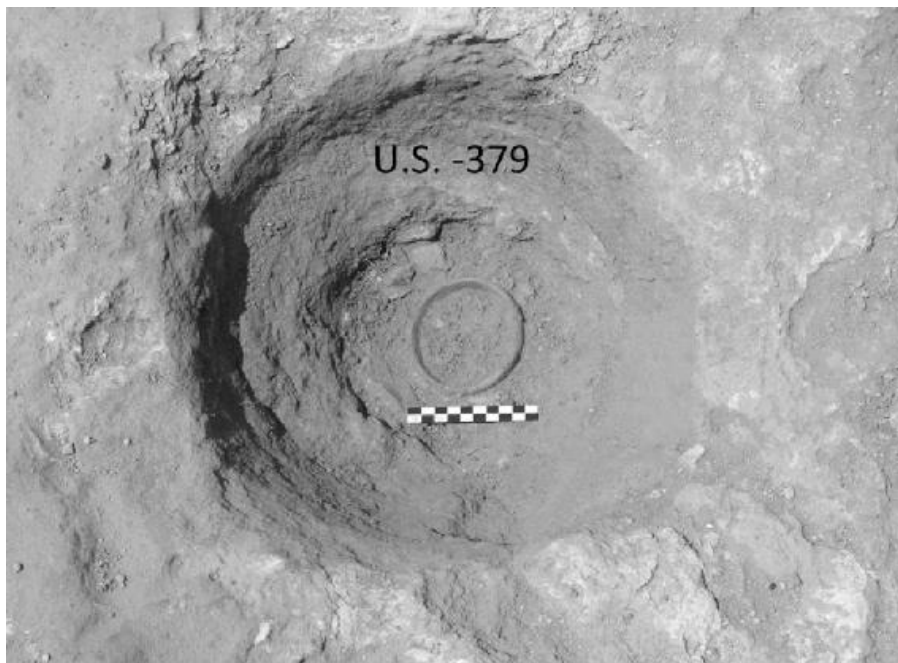


Figure 7: WA IV. The circular basin U.S. -379 (Type 3).

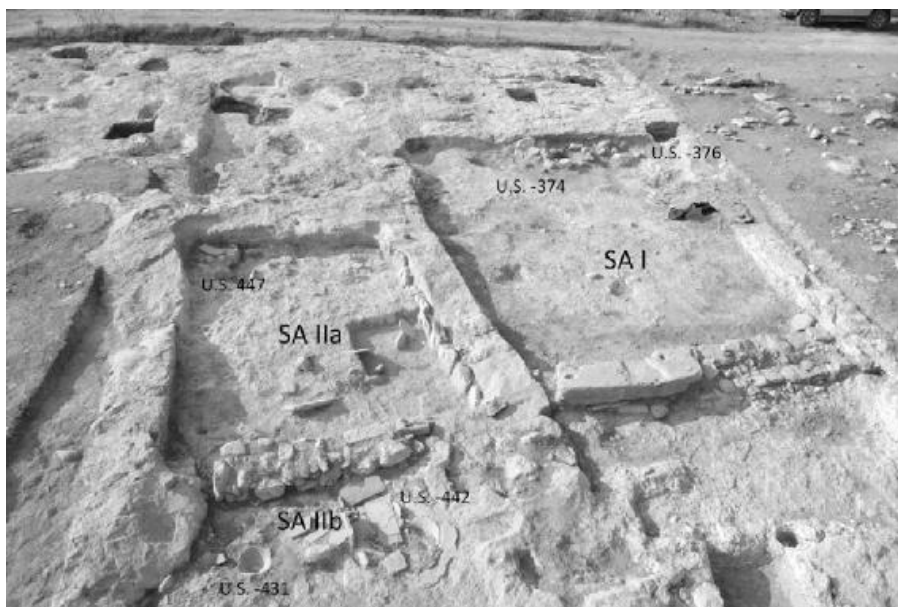


Figure 8: SA I. Emplacements; SA II. Emplacements and bench.

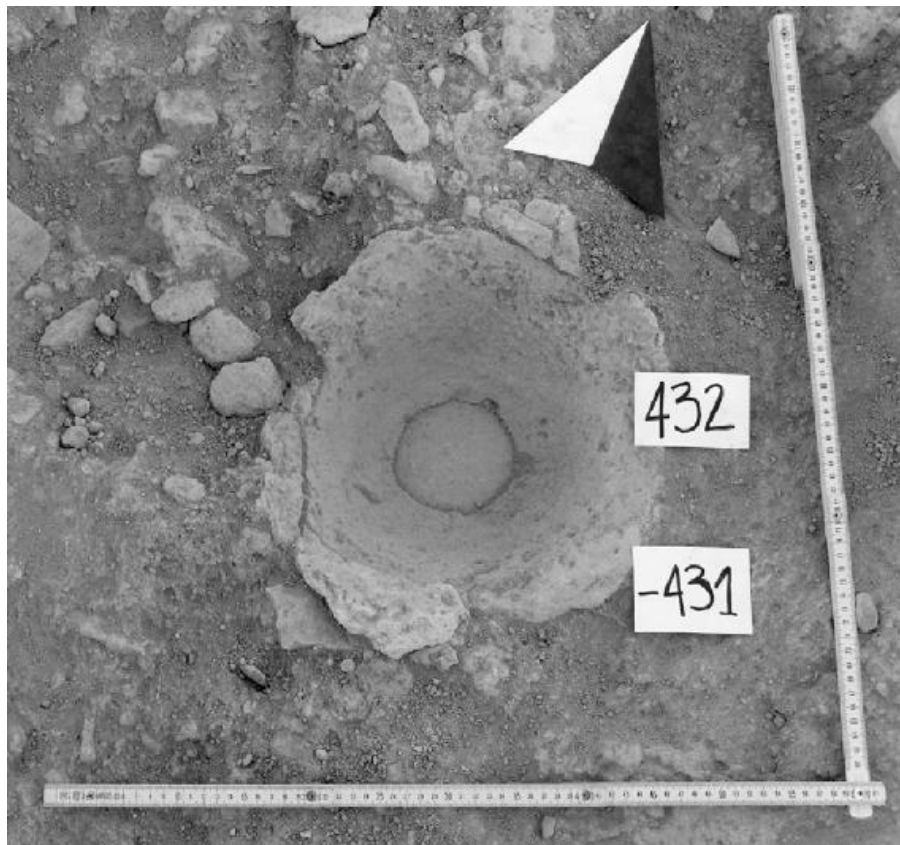


Figure 9: SA II, Room B. The emplacement U.S. -431.



Figure 10: SA I. The hearth U.S. 384.

SA I.354.1



Figure 11: SA I. RP *pithos* (SAI.354.1).

SA I.354.4



Figure 12: SA I. DP *pithos* (SAI.354.4).



Figure 13: SA II. Ceramic and small finds assemblage from rooms A and B.



Figure 14: SA II. RP jug with incised/punctured decoration (KVP11.A.427.10).



Figure 15: SA II. RP handled bowl (KVP11.A.448.1).

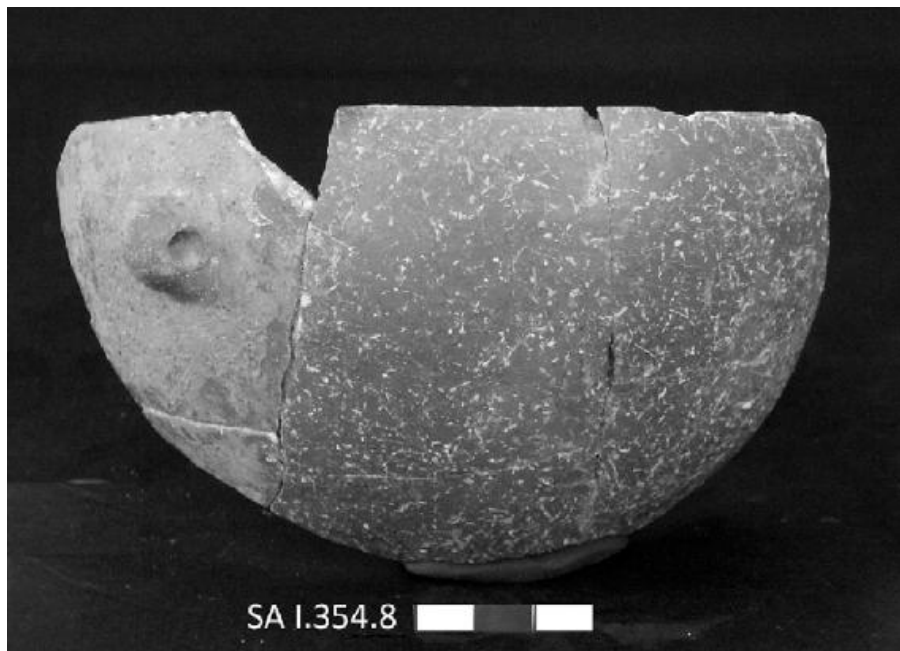


Figure 16: SA I. RP hemispherical bowl with pierced lug (KVP09.SA.354.8).



Figure 17: SA I. The pithos SAI.354.4 and the sputed juglet SAI.354.9 in situ.



Figure 18: SA I. The spouted juglet SAI.354.9.

After the main use of the area, corresponding to Phase A, the following collapse of the Phase A walls was likely caused by a sudden event; after that the workshop complex was not in use anymore.

The ceramic assemblage of the two Phases clearly hints at a production typical of South Coast Middle Bronze Age horizon, characterized by a large percentage attestation of Red-Polished and, at a lower percentage, of Drab-Polished wares.

The earlier Phase B assemblage shows a wide standard typological repertoire, where there are highly attested globular or ovoid jugs with cut-away rim and applied decoration, often a snake-like pattern. Counterparts for the whole assemblage are widely diffused. Examples comes from funerary contexts dated back to MC II in Katydhata (Åström, Flourentzos 1989, 103, fig. 92), from Marki-Alonia (Frankel and Webb 2006, fig. 4.38) and Alambra-Mouttes (Barlow 1996, figs. 55–56), from MC I deposits and from burial contexts at Kalavassos-Panagia Church cemetery (Cullen et al. 1986, fig. 32–35), as well as from the cemetery area recently exposed at Psematismenos-Trelloukkas in the Maroni valley (Georgiou *et al.* 2011).

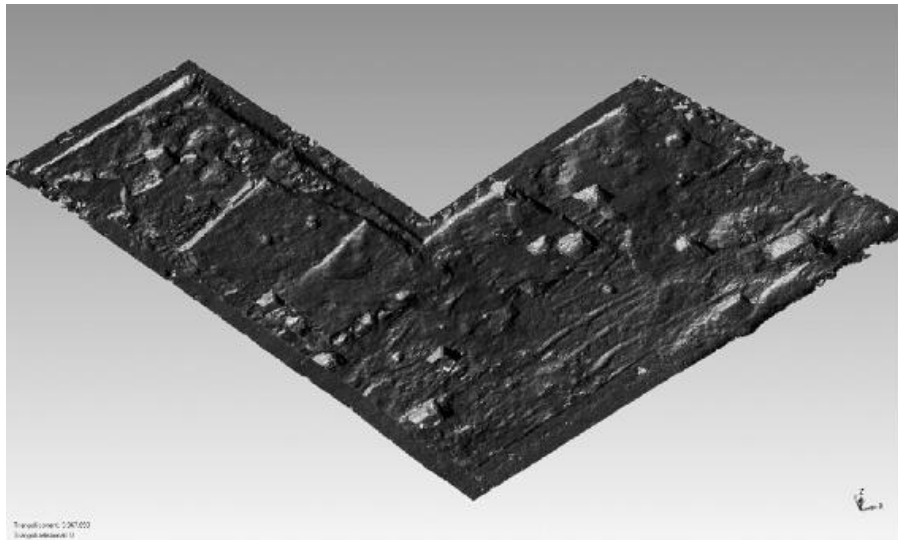


Figure 20: 3D model of the Workshop area.

An interesting ceramic assemblage is documented by the former Phase A as well. The Black Slip Ware medium size jar KVP11.SAIIa.423.6, as well as the jars KVP11.A.427.10, found within ‘Room a’ of SA II, and KVP09.354.SA.6, discovered in SA I., show a similar incised decoration pattern characterized by punctured dots filling rectangular panels (*Figg.* 13, 14). The technique and general patterns of the decoration seem rather close to the typical *punctured decoration* of the so-called Episkopi ware (Tatton-Brown 1979, 35–36). This variety, defined by Stuart Swiny as Red Polished Punctured ware owing to its standard recurrent incised decoration (Carpenter 1981, 64), was first discovered in a stratified context at Episkopi-Phaneromeni with a decorative style diagnostic of the LC IA period (Herscher 1976, 11–19). Similar dating can be proposed for the small RP IV spouted juglet (KVP09.354.SA.9), comparable to a deep collar rimmed bowl from a chamber tomb in Mesoyi-Katarraktis dated back to the MC III – LC IA period (Herscher and Fox 1993, 72; 71, *fig.* 2), even though this one is considerably larger than the Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou example.

Furthermore, a collection of clay spindle-whorls with or without incised decoration, as well as a relevant assemblage of stone processing tools in ground and chipped stone come from the SA I and even more from SA II deposits, where an assemblage of seven whorls were found from the only Room B (*Fig.* 13). A more detailed analysis of the basic functional groups within the ceramic assemblage will be discussed below in section 4.

SA I.362.11

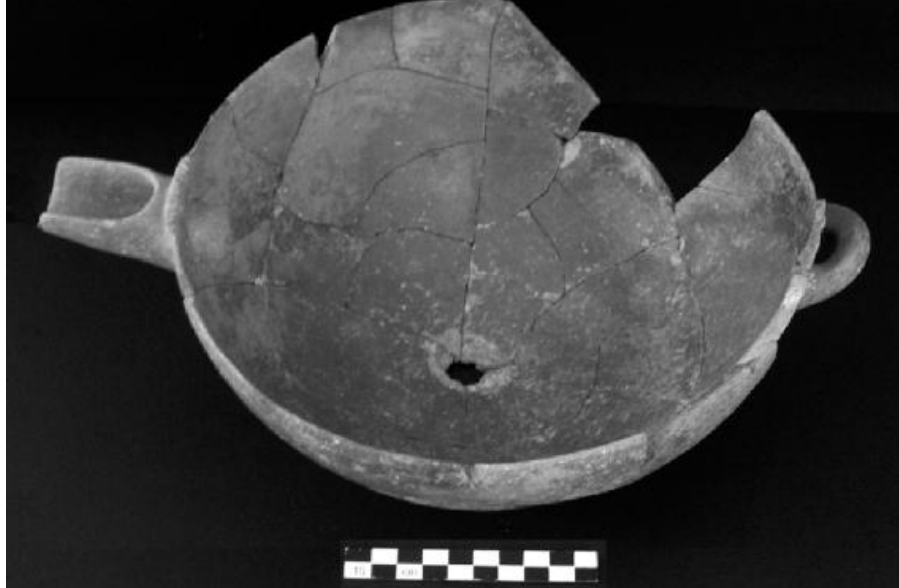


Figure 19: SA I. RP spouted basin modified (SAI.362.11).



Figure 21: 3D model of pithos SAI.354.1



Figure 22: 3D model of pithos SAI.354.4



Figure 23: 3D model of pithos SAI.354.7

The workshop complex: working installations

As stated above, the workshop complex is characterized by a system of inter-connected structures built onto or directly carved into the natural limestone bedrock, among which the structures related to water-based activities take up a relevant function. These are basically the basins and flow channels and the emplacements for *pithoi* and large containing vessels.

A series of twenty-two basins can be numbered, pertaining to different types and distributed within the open-air areas of the workshop complex as follows: WA I: 6 basins; WA II: 6 basins; WA III: 2 basins; WA IV: 5 basins; WA V: 3 basins (Table 1).

The overall shapes and profiles of the carved basins point to four different types, maybe connected with a specific function.

TYPE 1. The most common type is the *squared basin*, that shows right angles and a width of $0,90 \times 0,90$ m. on average, such as the basin Ft. 25 (US -317) of WA II, measuring $0,95 \times 0,90$; the basin Ft. 30 (US -373) of WA III of $0,85 \times 0,85$ m.; Ft. 28 (US -359) in WA III, with measures of $0,90 \times 0,70$ m.; the basin Ft. 37 (US -399) of WA V measuring $0,85 \times 0,85$ m. Within the group, the basin Ft. 26 (US -332), shows peculiar features: double squared linked basins, which have different width ($1,08 \times 1,12$ m. the bigger one; $1,00 \times 0,93$ m. the smaller one) and different depth in order to make possible the flow from one to the other (Fig. 4). The inner wall and the bottom of each basin is coated with an hard grey plaster-like covering, possibly with the function to waterproof the structure, except for the small squared basin Ft. 17 (US -303) of WA I ($0,29 \times 0,20 \times 0,12$ m.), cut into the bedrock without any coating. The bottom of Ft. 30 (US -373) is characterized by an arrangement partly built with plaster, partly cut into the western wall of the basin, in order to create two similar elliptic niches, maybe used to collect the fluid materials coming from outside (Fig. 5).

TYPE 2. The *elliptic basin* is a rather usual type into the range of workshop complex.

However just one, the basin Ft. 16, US -327 ($1,26 \times 0,78 \times 0,40$ m.) of WA I, shows a rounded, carefully carved profile, and a more flattened bottom. As to the dimensions, it resembles the basin Ft. 24 (US -314), located in WA II, which measures $0,98 \times 0,64 \times 0,20$ m. Nevertheless, the latter Ft. 24 has a more irregular profile than the above mentioned Ft. 16 (Fig. 6). Another basin has to be mentioned within this typology, the Ft. 33, US -389 ($1,70 \times 1,00 \times 1,00$ m.), cut on the limestone floor of WA IV. Although its profile seems to be more similar to the squared type, its rounded angles and its bottom shape

are comparable to the elliptic basins.

TYPE 3. A huge number of *circular basins* were carved into the bedrock of workshop complex, as well. They are characterized by a circular opening and rounded section profile. The diameter and the depth can differ from basin to basin. The maximum width is 0,67 m. (Ft. 22, US -322 of WA II); the basins Ft. 31 (US -331) of WA IV and Ft. 39 (US -403) of WA V measure 0,40 m. in diameter; the basin Ft. 29 (US -379) of WA III measures 0,35 m. in diameter (Fig. 7). Furthermore, there are the small size basins of 0,20 m. diameter average, usually associated with the bigger basins (squared, elliptic or circular), such as Ft. 38 (US -405) related with the squared basin Ft. 37 (US -399) in WA V, or Ft. 20 (US -308) and Ft. 23 (US -324) of WA II respectively linked with the circular basins Ft. 21 (US 310) and Ft. 22 (US -322). Most of the circular basins have a shallow depth of 0,10 m. on the average. However, some of them were cut more deeply, such as the basin Ft. 39 (US -403) measuring 0,40 m. depth, as well as Ft. 38 (US -405), both located on WA V.

TYPE 4. The last type comprises the *irregular shape basins*. Four of them are located on WA I: Ft. 18 (US -305), Ft. 19 (US -306), Ft.15 (US -307), Ft. 14 (US -326); just one in WA III, Ft. 27 (US -413). Among these basins one has a particular relevance. Of note is a big basin located on the northern limit of WA I, named Ft. 14 (US -326). It is characterized by irregular rounded opening and section profile, measuring approximately $1,70 \times 1,55$ m., and two small niches, of about 0,20 m. width, in the inside wall (Fig. 6). The basin shows a quite high depth of 1,10 m. and its bottom is coated with a hard plaster covering. The other basins have a medium depth of 0,20 m. approximately and a rounded opening of different width, from $0,67 \times 0,33$ (Ft. 27, US -413), to $0,20 \times 0,12$ (Ft. 18, US -305).

A further type can be added to the previous ones: *the slab-made basins or bins*.

The basin Ft. 4 (US 383, 384) of SAI and the basin Ft. 9 (US 444) built into the Room B of SAII belong to this category. It concerns two rectangular structures, which extend $0,50 \times 0,40$ m. approximately, made with four limestone slabs vertically displayed.

The primary function of these basins is collecting the fluid material coming from the flow channels correlated with them. Several shallow sloping channels have been found within the workshop complex. Some of them show an irregular shape, such as US -320, US -321; a long angle-like carved channel, slopes from the western limit of WA II, making easier the flow to the circular basins Ft. 20 (US -308), Ft. 21 (US -310), Ft. 22 (US -322), Ft. 23 (US -324). Particularly interesting

is the long channel U.S. -401, which slopes from South East towards the North West of WA V (Fig. 1). This channel, cut into the bedrock with a maximum width of 0,45 m., has an irregular, curved, profile interrupted by a deep rounded basin (Ft. 39, U.S. -403), possibly aiming at regularizing the channel flow.

It is interesting to note that the percentage of each type of basins shows recurring features within the workshop complex. The most evident recurring value is related to the presence of squared basin within each working areas except for WA I where the squared basin Ft. 17 (US -303) has smaller size than the standard ones. In WA I, II, IV the squared basins are associated with an elliptic basin and surrounded by a group of circular or irregular basins (four in WA I, II; two in WA IV) (Table. 1; Fig. 1).

Emplacements

A characteristic features of the closed Storage areas are the emplacements, set into the floor as supports for medium size vessels and *pithoi*. Three emplacements have been found within SA I. Two of them, Ft. 1 (US -374), Ft. 3 (US -376), show a circular opening of 0,25 m. diameter, and a depth around of 0,20 m. Both emplacements have been all around surrounded by a circle of big stones in order to fix two *pithoi* (respectively the *pithos* KVP09.354.SA3 into the emplacement Ft. 1 and the *pithos* KVP09.354.SA1 into the emplacement Ft. 3) and guarantee a better stability (Fig. 8).

A similar round structure made up by big stones has been displayed in the area between the *pithoi*, where two small bowls have been found. In this case the support was created without cutting the emplacement into the plaster floor.

Other two emplacements, Ft. 6 (US -431), Ft. 7 (US -442), Ft. 8 (US. -440) rounded in shape, (0,30 m. diameter) lie on the plaster floor of Room B of SA II. They are carved into the floor, lined with a thick and homogeneous plaster-like covering as well as Ft. 1 and Ft. 3 of SA I. Among them just the emplacement Ft. 6, has been entirely dug. It shows a peculiar feature, having the bottom reinforced by a diabase stone (Figs. 8 & 9).

Whereas the three emplacements of SA I were thought to be used as vessel support, the primary function of the three emplacements of SA II were different. Presumably they were set up to adjust the wooden posts of a temporary structure and just in a second phase they were re-used to fix the medium and big size vessels. This hypothesis can be supported by the finding, nearby Ft. 6, of large jar with disc base, which perfectly fill, the inner space of the emplacement.

Other structures and installations: thresholds, post holes, hearths, benches

The use of huge limestone squared blocks as *thresholds*, during the Phase A, can be mentioned as well. Such step blocks allowed the entrance into the inner space of SA I and II, as mentioned above. The doorways, associated with big squared and flat slab stones walls, are located on the south-western corner of the storage rooms (Fig. 2).

The threshold Ft. 5 associated with wall 1 (US 411), of SA I, measures $1,85 \times 0,65$ m.; it is carefully carved in order to create a step to access the floor of Room 1, characterized by a setting for the door-socket.

The entrance of limit wall 4 (US 424), of SA II, is smaller than the one of SA I, measuring $1 \times 0,45$ m. The limestone block shows two door-sockets completely preserved, associated with two rounded settings of 6 cm. diameter, maybe used as locking-door.

The *post holes* within the workshop complex are often associated with the linear cuttings possibly used to set the temporary structures. This kind of arrangement was functional to cover such a wide space. The best example is provided by the structures cut on the bedrock floor of WA III. Here the bedrock limestone floor seems to be carved in order to create a corner, maybe functional to set the basement for closing structure of WA III. In fact the two straight cuttings, US -415 sloping toward North and US -416 leaning toward East, are related with two rounded cuttings of 0,08 m. in diameter, US -417, -418 (Ft. 32), possibly used to set the wooden post of temporary structures.

Other post holes have been found on WA II and WA IV floor. These cuttings are characterized by a diameter about of 0,12 cm. and a variable depth of 0,10 – 0,20 m. approximately. The upper block on the east side of the wall US 425 of SA II, Ft. 13, shows another kind of feature. It is characterized by two settings, one with a rounded shape, of 0,06 m. diameter (U.S.-445), the second one, associated with the first, characterized by a straight profile, measures $0,026 \times 0,065$ m. (U.S. -446). Both them was used to set the upper structure of the wall in perishable material, possibly wooden frame structure.

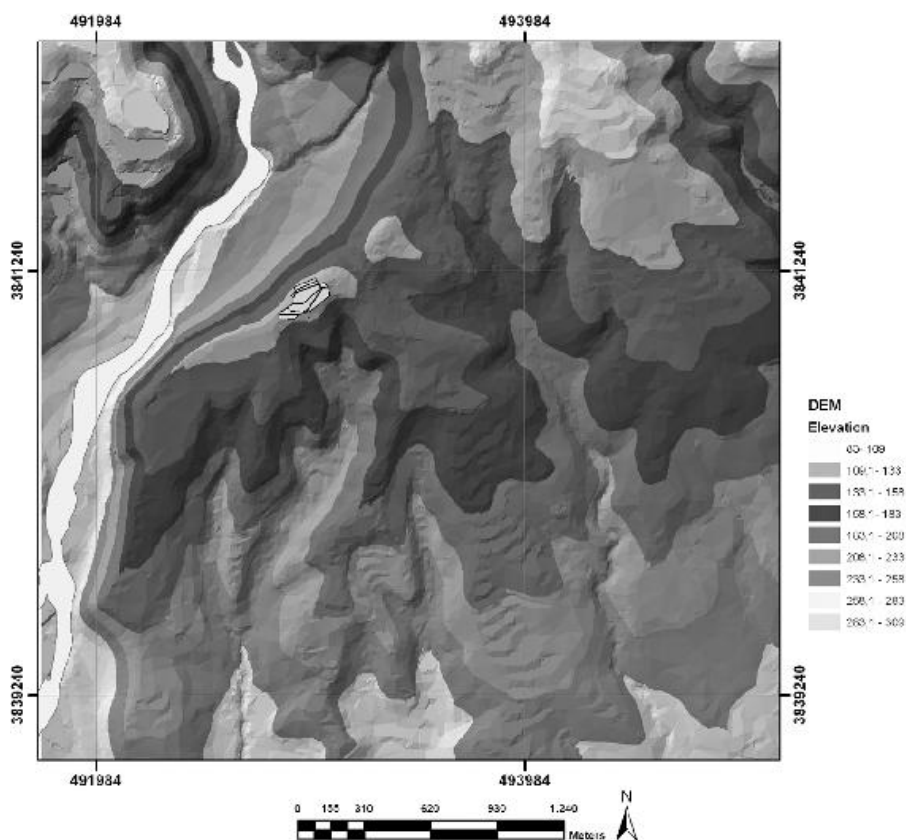


Figure 24: Digital Terrain Model (DTM) of the site surroundings with the location of the site and the river Kouris as from the 1980 Topographical map 1:5. 000.

Just one structure associated with the firing activity has been found within the workshop complex. It lies flanking the North-Eastern limit of SA I. It is composed of a built stone hearth Ft. 4 with rectangular chamber, US 384, (0,75 × 0,60 m.) and ashes and burnt debris filling. It is related with the basin US 383, similar for arrangement and measuring.

The *hearth* was built with small stone slabs vertically displayed and coated with plaster. This arrangement maybe was functional to preserve the temperature into the burning chamber. It is particularly interesting the evidence of two fragmentary ceramic vessels found within the hearth chamber. The neck of first vessel was directly adjusted on the neck of the other, in order to create a sort of inner channel, which directly led to the inner hearth chamber. The arrangement of vessels, not casual, could be in some way related to the primary use of hearth, certainly linked with firing activity (Fig. 10).

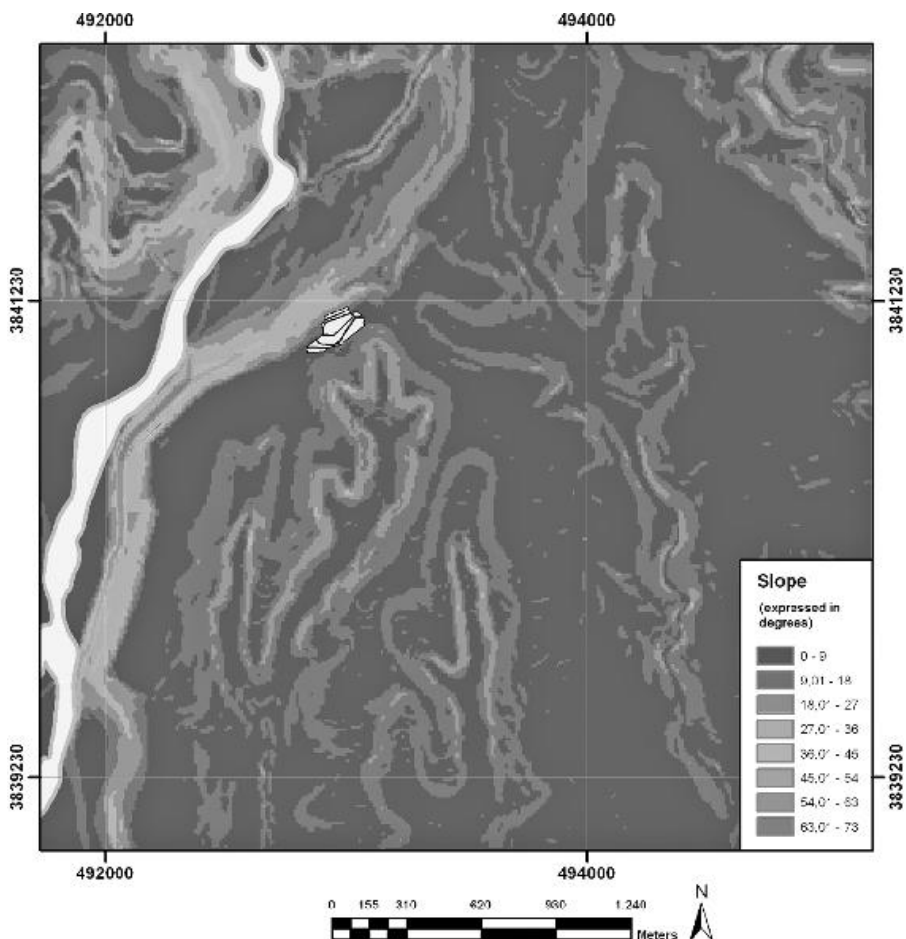


Figure 25: Slope map of the site and its surroundings (the slope is expressed in degrees).

The actual documentation almost completely lacks evidence, to provide elements about the use of *benches* into the workshop complex. Just one bench Ft. 11 (U.S. 447) has been found, lying on the north-western corner of Room A of SA II, associated with a milling installation (Fig. 8). The structure, of 0,40 × 0,40 m. approximately, was made up with an hard plaster, it is higher of 0,30 m. than the level of the floor. This arrangement was presumably thought to make more comfortable the grinding activities.

Functional aspects of ceramic assemblage from the workshop complex: containing and storing vessels, pouring and drawing vessels

Two different “functional groups” can be identified within the ceramic

assemblage of workshop complex. The first group includes the containing and storing vessel, the second one the pouring and drawing vessels (Fig. 30).

The containing and storing vessels assemblage

As far as the containing and storing vessels assemblage is concerned, a group of eight *pithoi* from Phase A of SA I and SA II is particularly relevant: KVP09.354.SA1, KVP09.354.SA3, KVP09.354.SA4, KVP09.362.SA14, KVP09.351.SA20, KVP09.351.SA21 found within 'Room 1' of SAI, KVP11.A.438.1 was found on the floor 438 of 'Room a' of SAI; KVP11. SAIIb.419.4 discovered within the 'Room b' of SA II (Figs. 11, 12).

They show some standard feature into the repertoire such as the vertical neck, an ovoid body and round or disk base the pointed or angle-like vertical handle, the applied/incised decoration on rope-like motif on the bottom of the neck, sometimes decorated with round finger impression (KVP09.354.SA3, KVP11.SAIIb.419.4), a medium height includes between 0,70–0,80 m. Though most of them belong to the Red-Polished ware type, some *pithoi* were also made in Coarse Ware (KVP11.SAIIb.419.4) and in Drab-Polished (KVP09.354.SA1) (Fig. 12).

Several jars can be included into the containing vessel assemblage, as well as a respectable group of jugs and juglets. The jars repertoire, in Red-Polished, Coarse and Black Slip wares, includes vessels of different size; the measures ranges from 0,10 m. diameter $\times$ 0,15 m. height on the average (KVP11.A.427.10, KVP11.A.427.11, KVP11. SAIIb.420.2); to 0,20 m. diameter and an height of 0,20/0,25 m. approximately (KVP11. SAIIa.423.6, KVP11.A.419.23, KVP09.362.SA.10). The usual decoration pattern shows incised parallel lines, creating a zig-zag motif, sometimes associated with punctured patterns (Figs. 13, 14).

The medium size jugs and the small juglets are actually well attested within the containing and storing vessels assemblage. Among these ones, the RP jug KVP11.SAIIa.423.7 has an applied and incised decoration on geometric pattern on the lower part of its neck as well as the juglet KVP11.SAIIa.434.8 in Drab Polished Grey Core, which has applied and incised decoration on geometric pattern on the lower part of the neck, while on the outer wall, an applied decoration of as snake-like wavy pattern.

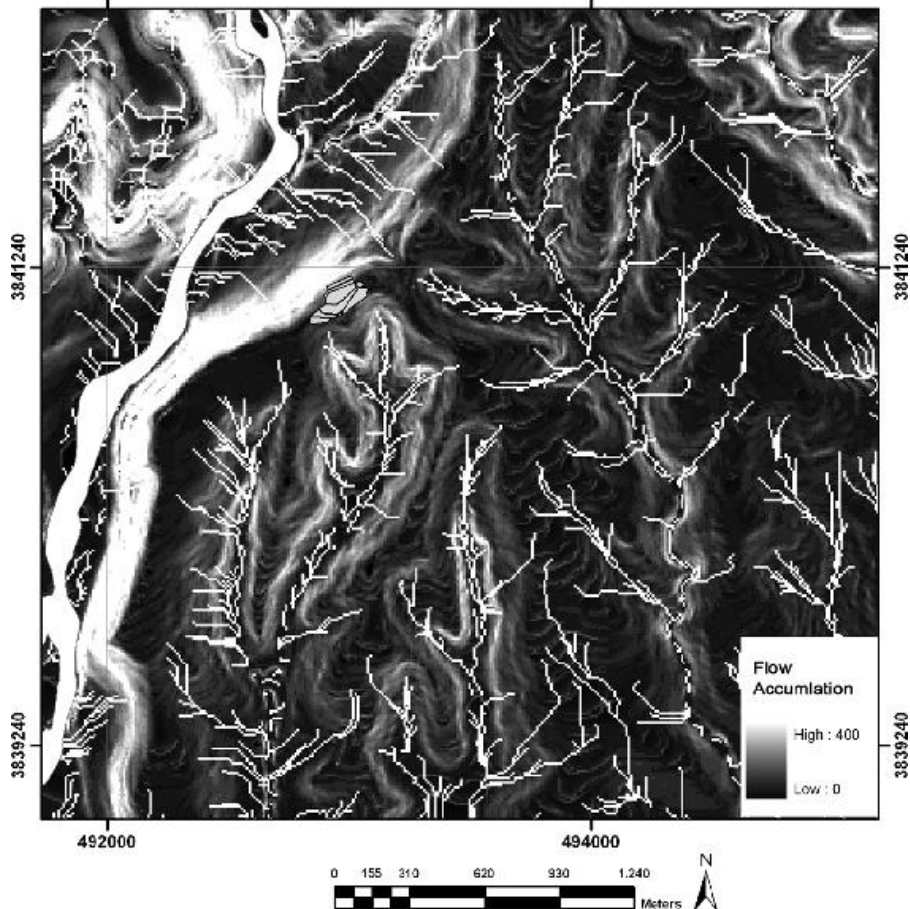


Figure 26: Flow accumulation map with stream channels (defined on flow accumulation ≥ 50).

The pouring and drawing vessels assemblage

The pouring and drawing vessels assemblage is formed by bowls, spouted bowls together with other objects functional to pour or add substances to the main liquid content of the containing vessels.

Both the bowls of Phase A and the bowls of Phase B are characterized by an hemispherical body, pointed rim and a medium diameter of 0,15 m. In some case such as KVP09.354.SA.8, KVP11, SAIIa.423.5, KVP11.A.448.1 they can be equipped of lugs or of horizontal handles, sometimes rounded, sometimes double pierced, often decorated with incised linear motif (Figs. 13, 15, 16).

Most of them were undecorated, but in some cases the incised decoration pattern is instead very elaborate. The presence also of a small spouted juglet (KVP09.354.SA.9) is relevant within this assemblage. It is decorated with a linear incised motif discovered just

on the inside bottom of the big *pithos* KVP09.354.SA.1 (Figs. 17, 18).

Among the pouring vessels some simple or spouted basins can be included from SAI and SAII, belonging to Phase A and Phase B, and a small *askos* coming from the Room B of SA II.

Two fragmentary basins have been found in the workshop complex, KVP11.A.422.6 and KVP11.A.423.9. They are representative of RP vessels with curve profile and a diameter of opening respectively of 0,20 m. and 0,29 m., without any decoration. The spouted basin KVP09.362.11, instead, has peculiar shape and is characterized by two applied lugs on the rim with incised decoration motif and an hole, pierced on the bottom of its base after firing, possibly as the result of a secondary use of the basin as “funnel” (Fig. 19).

The RP *askos* KVP11.SAIIb.420.1 has cut away rim, short neck, vertical handle rim-to shoulder, ovoid irregular body and two little rounded feet (the third is missing) on the lower rounded part of the vessel (Fig. 12). There are two pierced lugs on the rim, three on the neck and four on the shoulder. The decoration on the handle is incised, while the one from the neck to the body is applied and incised on “snake-like” wavy pattern.

Water use in the workshop complex

The presence in the workshop area of basins and channels and, in particular, their spatial arrangement, seem to suggest that this area was used for a production activity whose processing involved the exploitation of liquid substances; basins with variable dimensions, linked with each other by channels and located in strategic positions, often alternated with wide empty spaces, indicate an economic production presumably articulated in subsequent phases.

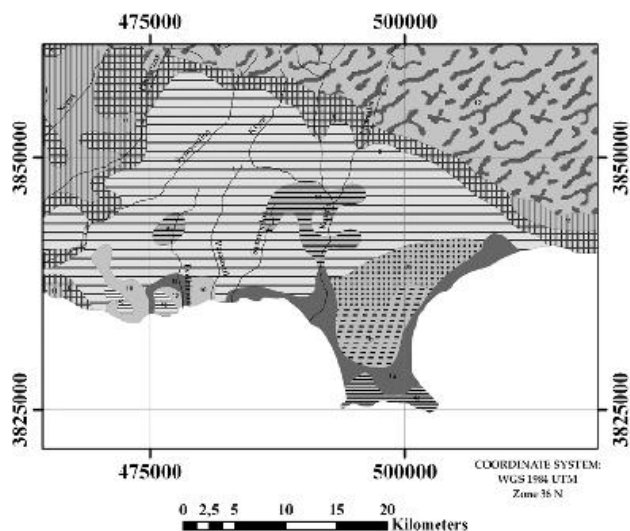
An interesting research topic is represented by the investigation concerning the liquid quantity processed in the area. Through the laser scanning 3D mapping of the areas WA I–V (Fig. 20), it has been possible to estimate that main basins, in a full capacity condition, could collectively contain c. 8.000 litres of water (Table 2). We presume that, for a productive processing articulated in sequential phases, not all the basins were contemporary filled with water, but it is certain that this data is fairly high. Moreover, if we consider also the capacity of *pithoi* in the roofed units (SA I–II), the amount rises to c. 8.500 litres of water (Table 3). In fact, at this moment, only three *pithoi* from SA I have been reconstructed and restored (nn. 1, 4 and 7) and they could eventually contain respectively 30, 140 and 10 litres of water (Figs. 21–23). Ascribing the numerous *pithoi* potsherds found in the roofed units to one of the three ‘standards’ and ascribing them to

the three 'standards' by analogy of their the dimension of rim, walls and base, we have summarily estimated, in fact, that the total amount of water contained in the SA I-II *pithoi* could be about other adjunctive 500 litres (Table 3).

Subsequently, we go back on the investigation of the economic activity performed in the area because it is difficult to propose a functional interpretation of the area in this first excavation phase; at the present moment we are trying to answer to the successive question about the availability of natural resources able to provide a so large water quantity, considering that water was used for a substantial community activity.

Water was an important natural feature for site location decision making since the early beginning of the Prehistoric period. In light of this settlement feature, the topographic location of Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou completely reflects the pattern: the choice of places for new site foundations during Early and Middle Bronze Ages was primarily affected by the presence, nearby, of perennial water sources because it is plausible that the economic background was mainly based on agricultural activities (Swiny 1981, 56 and 80–81; Swiny 1989, 16–17).

Moreover, the varying annual precipitations and the river environment offered a dense vegetation, mainly composed of bulrushes and reeds. Ethnographic comparisons indicate that, still today, these plants are exploited for wickerwork, plaited baskets and mats (Gheorghiu 2003, 40). In addition, on a practical level, proximity to water sources played a fundamental role in the cyclic process of construction-reparation-deconstructionreconstruction of domestic architectonic structures (Gheorghiu 2001, 21; Gheorghiu 2003, 46).



A. EXTENSIVE GROUNDWATER BODIES IN ALLUVIAL SAND AND GRAVEL, CONGLOMERATE, SANDSTONE AND CALCARENITE.

- 1a** Water at shallow depth in connection with rivulets.
- 2a** Water in alluvial deposits with impermeable surface.
- 2b** Unconfined water in marine and lacustrine / Neogene deposits.
- 4a** Unconfined groundwater in Pliocene and Upper Miocene deposits.
- 4b** Shallow confined groundwater in Pliocene and Upper Miocene deposits.
- 6a** Unconfined ground water in sandy parts of Middle Miocene.

B. EXTENSIVE GROUNDWATER BODIES IN FRACTURED AND KARST LIMESTONE, DOLOMITE, GYPSUM, CHALK AND MARLY CHALK.

- 7** Unconfined ground water in aquifers of secondary importance of mainly massive chalk and cherty, locally marly chalk.
- 8** Ground water in highly extensive mass such as chalk interbedded with marls.

C. LOCAL AND SMALL DISCONTINUOUS GROUNDWATER BODIES IN COMPLEX SEDIMENTARY AND IGNEOUS UNITS.

- 10** Clay, marl, siltstone and shale.
- 11** Variscan Complex, including gneiss.
- 12** Metavolcanics with dominantly dykes and/or felsic rocks, locally faulted and intrusive rocks and plutonic rocks.

Figure 27: Sketch of the hydro-geological map of the South-western area of Cyprus.

CYPRUS ANNUAL PRECIPITATION (AREA UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL)

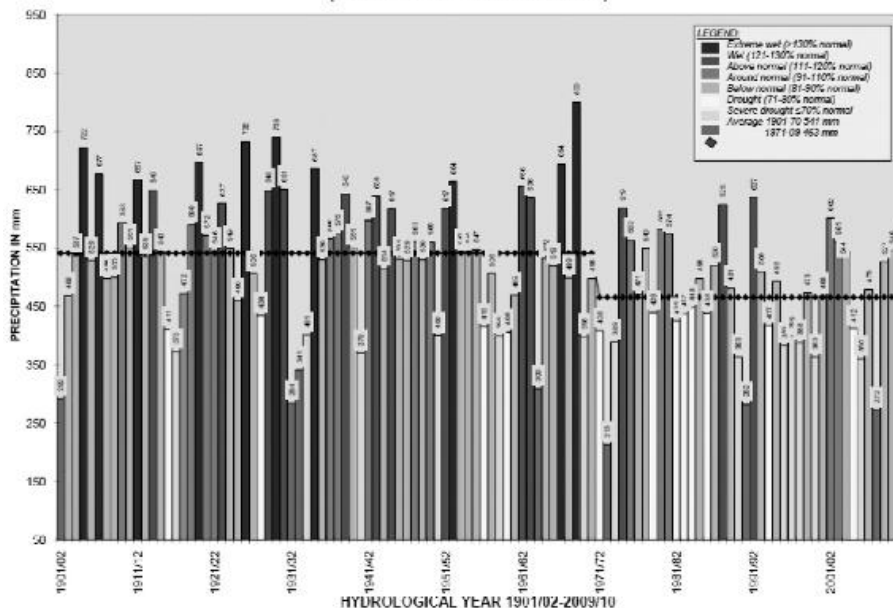


Figure 28: Cyprus annual precipitation from 1901 to 2010 (from: Water Development Department, Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment).

Environment and resources

Water resources

The Kouris river, which remained perennial until the recent building of a dam in 1979 (Fig. 24), undoubtedly represented an important source for the settlement of Erimi – *Laonin tou Porakou*: it was used for its freshly abundant waters as well as for its networking features, connecting the Troodos Mountains to the sea. Nevertheless the route from the site to the river bed is characterized by an extremely difficult slope with an inclination varying from 28 to 45 degrees and arriving to 74 degrees at South-Western side of site (Fig. 25).

Despite the unquestionable relevance of Kouris river for community activities, it is possible to hypothesize that the daily and most frequent supply could have come from other closer sources as well.

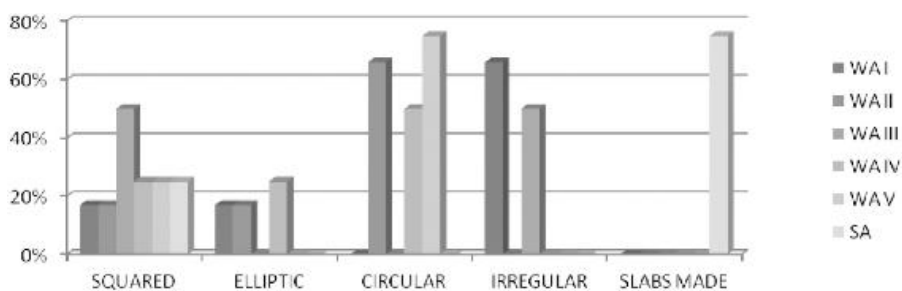
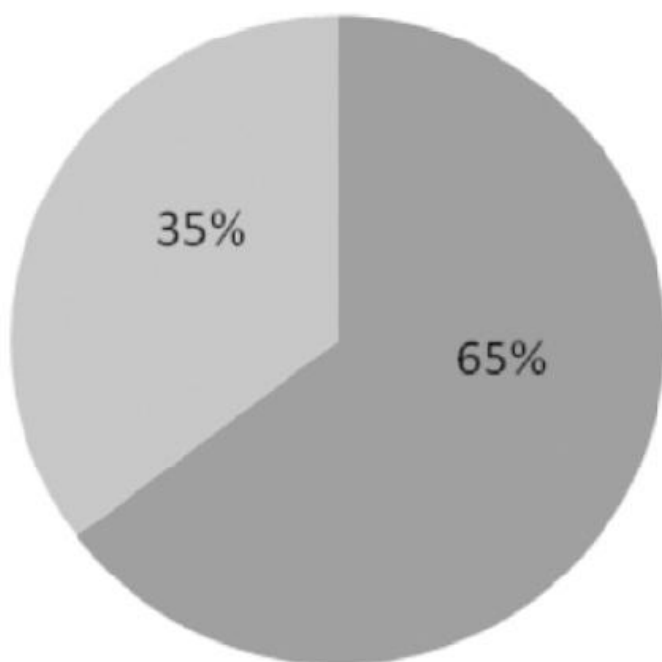


Figure 29 – Graph 1: Percentage distribution of basin types within the Workshop Complex.



■ VESSELS FOR CONTAINING

■ VESSELS FOR POURING AND DRAWING

Figure 30 – Graph 2: Functional groups distribution within the ceramic assemblage.

South and South West of the site, in fact, two little valleys indicate the presence of two possible minor accumulation basins (Fig. 26) and up to 1980 a little stream was recorded in the maps (source: Sheet 53/XXII, Topographical Map Series D.L.S. 17 [D.O.S. 155], Scale 1:5.000, published in 1980 by the Department of Lands and Surveys, Cyprus).

Comparing the location of these two possible streams with the slope map, it is evident that non only the streams are located more closely to the site, but also that their accessibility was extremely easier than the river. Unfortunately, the pottery assemblage from the workshop area has not shown pots specifically designed to extract or carry water, neither vases with particularly arranged holes or handles to fix ropes nor vases with arched bases for the multifunctional transport strategies (Gheorghiou 2003, 48). Nevertheless ethnographic analogies force us to speculate that the daily transport of water from these streams to the settlement was carried out using, for example, leather bags or plaited baskets (Rowlett 2003, 82–83).

Another hypothesis concerns the use of rainwater as possible source. As a possible source eventhough there are no traces of groundwater collection, which was usually drain from the wells (Fig. 27).

Basin Type		
SAI.354.1 made basins/bin		
SAI.354.1 made basins/bin		
W3A1 1. Squared basins		
W3A2 2. Elliptic basins		
W3A4 4. Irregular basins		
W3A4 4. Irregular basins		
W3A4 4. Irregular basins		
W3A4 4. Irregular basins		
W3A4 4. Irregular basins		
W3A11. Squared basins		
W3A12. Elliptic basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A11. Squared basins		
W3A14. Irregular basins		
W3A15. Squared basins		
W3A15. Squared basins		
W3A12. Elliptic basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A13. Circular basins		
W3A1 1. Squared basins		
W3A1 3. Circular basins		
W3A1 3. Circular basins		

Table 1: SA I. RP *pithos* (SAI.354.1).

Conveyors for the collection of rain and ground water were discovered in several Late Bronze Age sites, such as Alassa and Enkomi (Kampanella *et al.* 2003) and, in that period, the construction and use of these structures on a domestic and/or productive scale was

extremely diffused, as it is represented by the several evidences from the Basin Building and House B in Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 47–68; 99–130).

Despite the lack of these arrangements at *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*, unroofed surfaces are very wide and easily accessible and it is possible also that basins as well as *pithoi* could be filled directly by rainwater.

Although the island of Cyprus is catastrophically undergoing a desertification process affecting the whole Mediterranean basins, only recently precipitations began to fall dramatically. From 1901 to 2010, and in particular in last 30 years, the Cypriote annual precipitation average has dropped from 541 mm. to 463 mm., passing from an alternation of normal and wet seasons to climate ranging from normal to severely drought (Fig. 28) (source: Cyprus Annual Precipitation survey. Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment, Water Development Department). In particular the Limassol region falls in a Precipitation Zone characterized by a mean annual level of 400–500 mm. (source: average Annual Precipitation Map 1957–1980 of Cyprus. Scale 1:250.000. 1 ed., 1983. Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Meteorological Service), that is above the 300 mm. minimum required for sustainable agriculture (Issar 1995) as well above the 240 mm. minimum required for dry cereal cultivation in the Near East (Perrin de Brichambaut 1963).

Palaeoclimate

A common opinion is that there have not been drastic climatic changes since prehistoric times in Cyprus (Stanley Price 1979, 13; Jones *et al.* 1958; Frankel and Webb 1996); it is therefore reasonable to assume that annual precipitations should have a value similar to that recorded today. What has drastically changed is, in this case, the amount of tree cover and the diffusion of dense forests at low latitudes (Burnet 2003).

Palaeobotanic evidence from Marki-Alonia (Frankel and Webb 1996, 223–226) and from Lemba – *Lakkous* (Colledge 1985), in fact, delineates the presence of a flora array mainly characterized by grape fig, olive, vetch, barley and several other cereals, that is a vegetation range similar to the present arrangement. On the basis of these assumptions, therefore, it is possible to hypothesize that there has been no significant changes in the Cypriote climate since the Neolithic period (Hadjioannou 1987). Differently other scholars (Issar 1995) state that the Middle East climate varied considerably over the last 10.000 years on the basis of the oxygen levels in several carbonate deposits in lakes and stalagmites in caves. These evidence points to an alternation among colder and warmer periods; in particular it

delineates a warm period in 2100–1400 BC that probably could the reasons for the abandon, for example, of some sites in the Near East as Subir in northern Iraq or Arad in Negev; another pick in oxygen levels is recorded between 500 and 800 AD and it should be correlated with a phase of rain reduction and, consequently, water lowering in Dead Sea. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of this phenomenon in Cyprus and, if there was, it would not have had a sufficient effect to produce desertification or evident climate alterations. (Frankel and Webb 1996, 17). It is therefore, probable that during Bronze Age the climate in the Episkopi region was similar to the current: a Mediterranean semi-arid climate, with a mean daily temperature average varying between 13° C (44F) in winter and 26° C (77 F) in summer (Swiny 1982, 2–3).

The severe reduction in the tree cover was chiefly caused by human destructive impact on the environment since the Roman period and, in particular, deforestation activities (Burnet 2004). Actually in the Kouris valley the flora array is formed by carobs (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) and wild olives (*Olea europaea*), alternated with wide maquis areas of thorny brooms (*Calycotome infesta*) and spiny burnets (*Poterium spinosum*). Recent paleofloral studies, however, show a different picture regarding the vegetation coverage of the valley. The Chalk Plateau, in fact, was originally covered by a dense vegetation and two primary forest types covered this area: a forest characterized by the association of carob and oak (*Quercus Coccifera*) with a possible understory of mastic (*Pistacia Lentiscus*) or a forest characterized by the association of Cyprus (*Cupressus sempervirens*) and juniper (*Juniperus Phoenicia*) with the frequent presence of wild olive. At the Neolithic site of Kandou *Koyphouvounos*, and therefore extremely near to Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou, the latter coastal forest type has been identified (Burnet 2004, 76–77) that is the sign of a Mediterranean temperate climate in Prehistoric periods. Forests and thick vegetation affected obviously hydrology because they prevented severe soil erosion, facilitated formation of groundwater and prevent evaporation phenomena

Water capacity		
US. 303-	69600.96 (litres) cm ³	
US. 314-	486408.64 (litres) cm ³	
US. 317-	25650256.50 (litres) cm ³	
US. 322-	77564.3326 (litres) cm ³	
US. 326-	21890089.00 (litres) cm ³	
US. 327-	39312896.12 (litres) cm ³	
US. 331-	10053.0907 (litres) cm ³	
US. 332-	16186803.68 (litres) cm ³	
US. 359-	37800876.00 (litres) cm ³	

US. 373-	57800578,0010003) cm ³	
US. 389-	17000700,0001003) cm ³	
US. 400-	28900289,0010003) cm ³	
US. 403-	52810152,81100068) cm ³	
TOTAL WATER CAPACITY		

Table 2: SA I. RP *pithos* (SAI.354.1).

Storage put Type	Volume	Water capacity	Capacity from reconstructed pots	General capacity from hypothesized pots
<i>Pithos</i> n. 1	27682,884 (+ 0,00005) cm ³	27,68 litres	27,68 litres	221,44 litres (8 pots)
<i>Pithos</i> n. 4	141062,168 (+ 0,005) cm ³	141,06 litres	141,06 litres	-
<i>Pithos</i> n. 7	9971,8286 (+ 0,00049) cm ³	9,97 litres	9,97 litres	59,82 (6 pots)
TOTAL WATER CAPACITY:				459,97 litres

Table 3: SA I. RP *pithos* (SAI.354.1).

Conclusions

After answering the questions “how much water?”, “where?” and “where from?”, last question, perhaps the most important, is: “why, for what use?”.

At the moment, it is not possible to establish a certain and well-structured functional interpretation because the workshop area needs to be further investigated and more extensively excavated. Nevertheless, we propose a preliminary hypothesis that will culminate in additional analysis and researches.

Preliminary chemical analysis done on some *pithoi* fillings as well as on some basins plaster covers, have not detected the presence of lipids, fatty acids or tartaric acid (Francesca Chelazzi *pers. comm.*); this excludes the hypothesis that in the workshop complex activities for the production of wine or olive oil were carried out.

The arrangement of the area might also suggest some kind of pottery production (see Toumba tou Skourou and Athienou), but the lack of kiln and waste pits makes this interpretation quite uncertain.

On the other hand, the palaeobotanic analysis on some *pithoi* fillings, which are actually being carried out at Universities of Torino and Bologna, suggest a different interpretation. In fact, the recent results of macro-characterization analysis on filling soil sampled revealed interesting preliminary data, outlining an array of plants (*Anchusa officinalis*, *Echium plantagiuneum* and *Ajuga chamaepitys*)

characterized by dyeing properties (Scirè Calabrisotto *et al.* 2012; Carra 2010; Vassio *pers. comm.*).

Thus, the cross-analysis of the working installations related to the water-based activities (in particular the four identified basins types and the flow channels system), their capacity in terms of quantity of water processed and, lastly, the study of the procurement strategies within the palaeo-climatic and hydrological background, lead us to draw a clearer picture of the workshop complex function and use.

An interesting suggestion could, then, focus on an activity of textiles processing (spinning and, in particular, dyeing), and it could be confirmed by other features of the workshop complex: the presence of large empty areas useful to stretch the tissues, the presence in the *pithoi* fillings of plants from the dyeing properties and, at the end, the discovery in the area of several spindle whorls and loom weights.

This is clearly only a suggestion, which requires the continuation and enlargement of the excavation and doing further analysis. It is conceivable that up to now, certainly, in the workshop complex an important productive activity took place, probably involving a large part of the community. The presence of numerous basins and flow channels, as well as their spatial arrangement and the high percentage documentation of large storing vessels and *pithoi* suggest that the activity required the use of large quantities of liquids, presumable water. Considering the topography of the valley, it is likely that the natural supply source was not only the Kouris river, which certainly provided water for the whole community, but also minor water sources, even seasonal, localized nearer and, eventually, rainwater as well.

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Urbanization and urban identity in Nicosia (13th-16th centuries)

Philippe Trélat

In medieval historiography, the history of towns was often confused with the review of their monuments and their political and administrative functions without consideration of the socio-economic context (Crouzet-Pavan 1992, 1–2). This general observation also applies to Nicosia, the capital of the medieval kingdom of Cyprus (Maratheftis 1977, 46–75; Leventis 2005; Grivaud and Schabel 2006, 89–108; Trélat 2009; Coureas and Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 109–229). During the medieval period, the town was the seat of the Lusignan monarchy, which dominated the island from 1192 to 1474. Afterwards, it became the capital of the Venetian colony from 1474 to 1570 (see Hill 1948; Edbury 1991; Papadopoulos 1995–1996). Certainly, the lack of administrative and notarial acts has discouraged historians, until recently, to compile a history of the city as in examples of other cities of Italy (Hubert 1990, Crouzet-Pavan 1992, Redon 1994, Boucheron 1998) and Flanders (Lecuppre-Desjardin 2004, Boone 2010, Brown 2011). However, the examination of sources such as the assizes, chronicles, travel accounts do allow for a similar assessment of the organization and urban dynamics of Nicosia.

In the doctoral dissertation that I completed in 2009, I did not intend to construct a study of the complete topography of the city (Trélat 2009). Camille Enlart (1899, I 67–77), Georges Jeffery (1918, 18–100), Frixos Maratheftis (1977, 46–75), Panos Leventis (2005) and more recently Gilles Grivaud and Chris Schabel (Grivaud 1992, 287–321; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 116–120, 137–199) have studied and published on this topic. I added my contribution to this wide research theme by focusing on religious monuments in the second volume of my dissertation. One hundred and twenty-eight buildings were identified, forty more than proposed in the last available study. I presented them in the form of index cards where I recorded, when it was possible, the designation of the building in the sources, information on its foundation, its historical, archaeological

and artistic character, its location and finally the conditions of its disuse and loss. New hypotheses of location or identification of monuments were thus proposed. For instance, the mosque known, by the name of *Arablar* or *Stavros tou Missericou* in the district of Faneromeni was not identified in the medieval topography until now (Fig. 1). The hypothesis concerning the identification is unconvincing. The church was dedicated to the Holy Cross according to Camille Enlart (1899, I 187), while Panos Leventis (2005, 187) suggests a dedication to Saint-Peter and Saint-Paul. In fact, this building should probably be connected to the church of Mercy (*Miséricorde* in French similar with *Missericou* and not *Misser Henri* like the tradition) if we follow Dominique Jauna who wrote in the eighteenth century (Jauna 1747, II 901; Trélat 2009, II n° 86). Despite the effort required to collect information about religious monuments from published material and original documents, an unexploited potential of more accurate identifications still remains in documents saved in different archives such as the Vatican library, the *Archivio Stato di Venezia* or the *Archivio di Stato di Genova*.¹ New identifications and locations of churches still remain to be found.

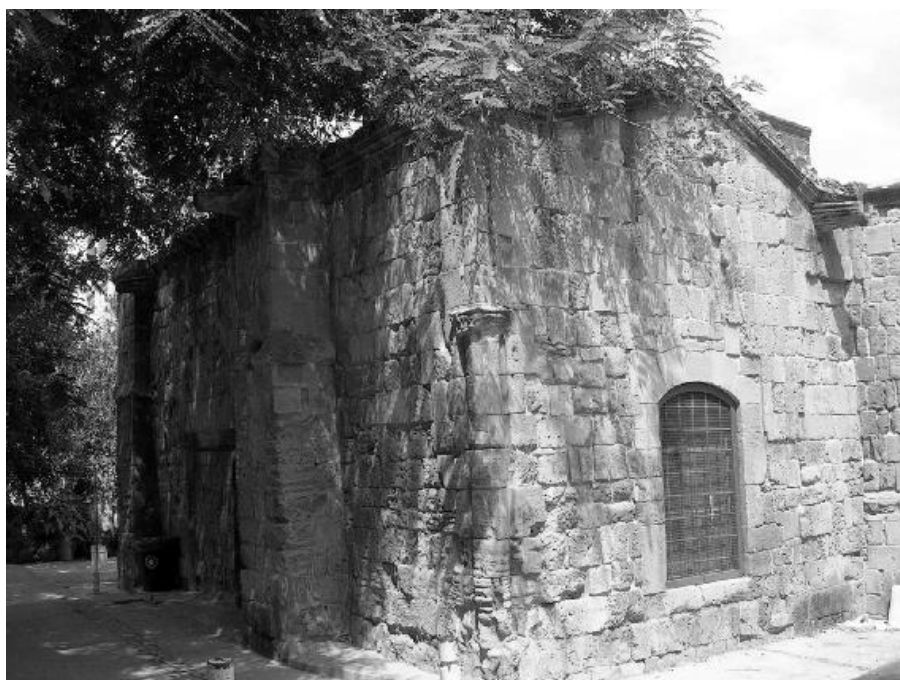


Figure 1: *Arablar* or *Stavros tou Missericou* in the district of Faneromeni.

If my main goal was not to restore the topography of the city, neither did I want to write an account of the economy and society of Cyprus, excluding the Nicosian context. The recent historiography

represented by the writings of Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel 2005), Peter Edbury, Gilles Grivaud, Chris Schabel and Nicholas Coureas have already widely investigated this field.² I wanted, instead, to focus on the urban issues linked to the economico-social analysis of the context of the city. This paper therefore gives me the opportunity to present some of these results by showing how economic and social developments of the kingdom, and how the city, influenced the process of urbanization and construction of an urban identity.

In the first part, I will show how the first movement of urbanization developed and took into account constraints of the site and inheritance of Byzantine period. Secondly, the phases of expansion and contraction of the urban fabric in Frankish and Venetian periods will be discussed. Finally, I will conclude by examining the possibility of the existence of an urban identity in Nicosia comparable to the one in the western cities of the late Middle Ages.

The birth of a capital

Nicosia presents an atypical profile among large cities in the Mediterranean world because of its location in the center of the island. The site, originally was most probably chosen for its remoteness from the coast, remained easily accessible from the major ports of the islands like Famagusta, Limassol and Kerynia (Birod and Vaumas 1963, 385–409; Maratheftis 1977, 1–8; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 116–118). The city network organization in medieval times inherited paths traced in ancient times and represented on the *Tabula Peutingerina*. They have been redesigned to accommodate the new urban configurations. When the route connecting Salamina to Tamassos and Chytroi declined, the axis Famagusta-Nicosia gained significance (Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 184–186).³ In addition, the site of Nicosia benefited from a supply of good quality running water and a pleasant climate, conditions often mentioned by the pilgrims in the Middle Ages (Piccirillo 2003, 114–115). They found this contrast that existed between Nicosia and coastal cities like Salines and Famagusta, where the presence of marshes made the air unhealthy (Neumann 1884, 336; Cobham 1908, 31; Grivaud 1990, 103).

At first, the Pedaios river crossed the city, a river with a slow moving current, which followed the route of the today's streets, Hermes and Pafos (current green line) (Maratheftis 1977, 57; Cavazzana Romanelli and Grivaud 2006, Fig. 28, 94). Its flow suffered from an unequal distribution of rainfall throughout the year. An

important drought was documented by Antonio da Crema in 1486. However, winter rains caused devastating floods in the city as was recorded in November 11, 1330 (Antonio da Crema 1996, 86; Machairas 2003, 101). Travelers describe *norias* called by the Greeks “Alachati” and by the Franks “Poufaraques” were found functioning in the Nicosian gardens. Two large wheels, which were attached by ropes to clay pots, were driven by a mule. The many wells scattered throughout the city were able both to meet the needs of citizens and to provide water for gardens and orchards (Mésenge 1507, 89v; Le Saige 1851, 139; Possot 1536, 148; Violaris 2004, 72).⁴ The water was brought in from villages near Nicosia like Agios Dometios and Trachonas by a system of clay and wooden pipes. Inside the walls of the city, houses had wells in their interior courtyards. A number of these wells are still visible on the map of Kitchener in the nineteenth century (Machairas 2003, 357; Jauna 1747, II 1104–1105).

According to Anne Comnena (1937–1945, II 162–164), the assets of this site, with no doubt, led the Byzantine authorities to transfer the seat of their capital Nicosia in the late eleventh century (Papacostas 2012, 79–109). A part of the excavated finds of coins and ceramic on the site of the former City Hall seem to confirm this chronology (Flourentzos 2004–2005, 1681). In truth, we know few things about this first movement of urban expansion and we are limited to speculation. Danilo Demi, followed by Panos Leventis, hypothesized about an urban morphology resuming the urban plans of the *cardo* and the *decumanus* from a possible Roman *castrum* in the center of the city (Demi 1997, 7–11; Leventis 2005, 7). It seems to me that Nicosia more closely followed the rules of the Hellenistic town planning or a Constantinopolitan model (Concina 2003, 26) with an expansion of places of power, crafts, shops and a housing development aligned along a central axis, the *mese*, the medieval covered street or *ruga coperta* (Richard 1962, 77; Bustron 1886, 463–464; Grivaud 1998a, 496; Balletto 1989, 267–268; Otten-Froux 1996, 169–170), the main street of medieval Nicosia, along the Pediaios river and connected the lower square near the present Famagusta Gate with another square near the second royal palace. In my opinion, the town grew up according to Hellenistic planning ideas but borrowing some Syrian elements like the covered street that was found in some Frankish cities in the East, like Acre and Jerusalem at the same time (Boas 1999, 25–28; Boas 2010, 234, 239, 253).⁵

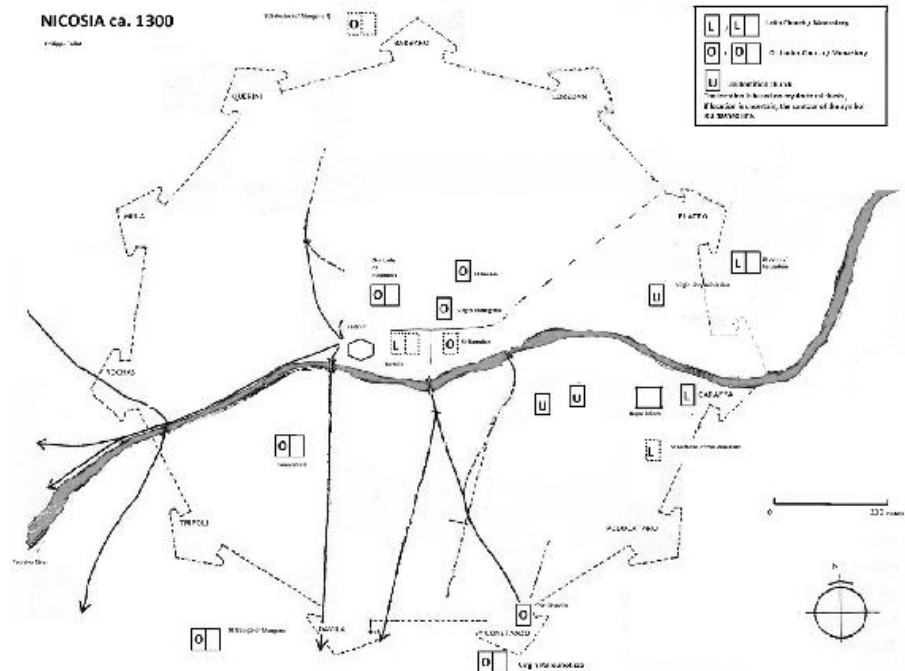


Figure 2: sites of the Bedesten and Hagia Sophia (Papacostas 2012, 93–99).

On the other hand, the distribution of religious buildings in the city followed spatially a North-South directed central axis. The current center of the old city already formed the religious heart of the Byzantine city in the twelfth century probably within a restricted perimeter the Monastery of Our Lady of Petomeni (Coureas and Schabel 1997, n° 58, 163; Richard 1962, 125), the Church of St Barnabas (Coureas and Schabel 1997, n° 52, 152–154; Kliridis undated, 11) and two places of worship at the sites of the Bedesten and Hagia Sophia (Fig. 2) (Papacostas 2012, 93–99).

The establishment of the Lusignan monarchy on the island did not mark the start of a phase of continuous urban growth but rather that of a succession of phases of expansion and transformation of urban space. The Pedaios river remained the axis, structuring activities and housing environment. We observe only a greater concentration of important buildings east of the city and the grouping of religious foundations.

Expansion and contraction of the urban fabric

Finding the Byzantine *castrum* in poor condition or uncomfortable, Guy de Lusignan chose to settle in the *palacium* of a Venetian trader, Leonardo Sabatini in 1192 (Papadopoulou 1983, 315; Berggötz 1991,

190–191; Papacostas 1999, 495). This setting-up corresponded to the creation of a new site of power in the city. Near the door of the market, on the route to Famagusta where kings were often called to go to Acre, important buildings were erected beside the palace such as the establishments of the military-religious orders, Templars and Hospitallers (Grivaud 1992, 305; Plat Taylor 1932, 469–471; Trélat 2009, II n° 112 and 116).

The Latin church stands at the heart of the city already dominated by the religious functions in the Byzantine time. The Latin Cathedral was built near a Greek church and monastery called Virgin *Hodeigitria* (Le Saige 1851, 139; Loupvent 2007, 158) and that of Our Lady of Petomeni (Trélat 2009, II n° 87). With the exception of the priory St. Catherine (Plagnieux and Soulard 2006, 160–169; Trélat 2009, II n° 109), whose order of attachment is unknown, no large Latin building was built near the cathedral. The lack of grounds but perhaps also the will of the archbishops excluded monastic orders from this central religious space, creating tensions between the regular and secular clergy over the matter of burial rights (Coureas and Schabel 1997, 170, 174; Coureas 1997, 193–194). Their location in Nicosia in the first half of the thirteenth century owed much to the laymen who gave up their grounds. In the west of the city, the great monasteries of St. Theodore (Leventis 2005, 71; Trélat 2009, II n° 124; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 175–176),⁶ St. Dominique (Leventis 2005, 73–81; Trélat 2009, II n° 105; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 185–187) and Beaulieu (Leventis 2005, 63–67; Coureas and Schabel 1997, 170; Trélat 2009, II n° 102; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 173–174) were established on the properties of the Countess Alice of Ibelin. Not far from this neighborhood, the other Latin monasteries were established: St. Francis (Leventis 2005, 55–59; Trélat 2009, II n° 106; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 187–188), St. Clare (Leventis 2005, 61; Trélat 2009, II n° 126; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 188–189), Our Lady of Tortosa (Leventis 2005, 109–115; Trélat 2009, II n° 117; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 179–182) and St. Mary of Mount Carmel (Leventis 2005, 53; Trélat 2009, II n° 107; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 191–192). The decision to set-up on the occidental margins of the city undoubtedly preceded the availability of grounds which could have accommodated these buildings. The center and the eastern part of the city were already well developed. Plots of land rich with water supply on the southwest allowed the construction of large monastic complexes including gardens. Also the Mendicants Friars were able to easily access the center of the city to preach.

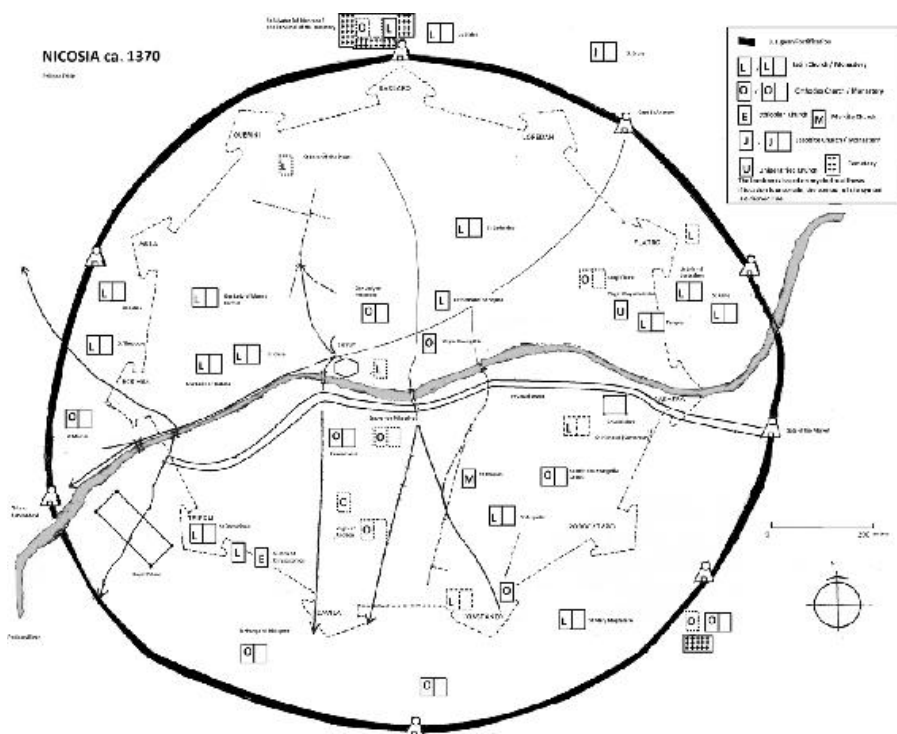


Figure 3: map of Nicosia in 1370.

Close to the mendicant orders, the Lusignan chose to construct their second royal palace (Trélat 2009, I 127; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 139–142) in the western district of the city. The establishment of the second palace in this area must be contemporary with the second part of the reign of Henry II (1310–1324). Indeed, the usurpation of power by Amaury of Tyre in 1306 and the return from exile of King Henry II, four years later, seem to take place on the eastern part of the city, since on these occasions, the proximity to the church of the Templars is mentioned (Bustron 1886, 170). So it is likely that the construction of the second palace was decided at the same time as the fortification of the city.⁷

In the late thirteenth century, there were three main centers of power in the city. All three were situated near the Pedaios river, the first near the entrance to the market, structured by the presence of the first royal palace, the second in the center of the city with the Byzantine castle and Greek and Latin cathedrals, and the third to the West of the city, consisting of Latin monasteries near the second royal palace.

However, this polarization of space was relative because a map of Nicosia in 1370 showed a wide dispersion of monasteries and churches of the different denominations (Fig. 3) (Trélat 2009, II n° 41–54; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 198–199). Only the northern

This strengthening of the defenses of the capital in the fourteenth century went together with a contraction of the urban space. The increase in mortality, a consequence of the epidemic of plague, provoked the desertion of whole districts in the capital (Grivaud 1998b, 301–308; Imhaus 2004, II 193–196). The city would recover slowly from these population losses. Those who survived the plague chose to leave the capital and did not even return when the sanitary state of the city reaches a satisfactory level. The sacking of the town by the Genoese in December 1373 and by the Mamluks in July 1426 had disastrous consequences on urban space. The royal palace in the South West of the city was burned like many other buildings (Bustron 1886, 368; Boustronios 1997, 413). The urban decay caused by the Genoese and Mamluk destruction clearly characterized some neighborhoods, which would otherwise be impossible to identify. The lack of money was also one of the factors that explained the feeling of abandonment in some neighborhoods.

Nevertheless signs of recovery occurred in the same half of the fourteenth century. Struck hard by the plague, the city was equipped with hospital infrastructure connected to religious foundations. The mention of a hospital next to religious institutions as St. James the Apostle (Tautu 1980, II 849), St. Nicolas of Chiriachi (*National Library of Malta*, La Valette, Archives, 125r-125v in Luttrell 1995, 138), St. Augustine (Machairas 2003, 428), St. Catherine (Rudt de Collenberg 1975–1977, 252) reflects the preoccupation of the new religious authorities. On a spiritual level, the hardness of times contributed to renewed forms of worship which encouraged the multiplication of religious foundations.

In the fifteenth century, a new urban dynamic began. Janus, returning from captivity in 1427, decided to abandon the old palace devastated by the Mamluk armies and to settle down in Hugues de la Baume's (Boustronios 2005, n° 2, 67) palace (Boustronios 1997, 413; Bustron 1886, 373). The structure of this new residence included two storeys of rooms around a courtyard where the court life of the last Lusignans goes on (Enlart 1899, II 526–538; Jeffery 1918, 26, 58; Leventis 2005, 237–243; Grivaud and Schabel 2006, 98; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 142–143). Pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem continued to receive the order of chivalry, the Order of the Sword founded by Peter I (1359–1369) (Christofidou 1995, 143–158; Skoufari 2007, 5–27), and several of them were invited to swear in the new royal palace after 1426: Gabriel Cornaro (1458), Martin Villain (1459), (Mas Latric 1852–1861, III 77) Herzog Otth, Philipp von Gemmingen, Ludwig von Wildenstein, Hans-Bernhard von Eptingen (1460) (Grivaud 1990, 75), Santo Brasca (1480) (Grivaud 1990, 102), Johannes Rindfleisch (1481) (Grivaud 1990, 160–161), Conrad

Grünemberg (1486) (Grivaud 1990, 127).

An important number of people were still attached to the different departments of the royal household: the bakery, the *bouteillerie*, the stables, the kitchen, the royal baths, the royal chapel, the service of the royal chamber (Grivaud 1998a, 399–400, Richard 1983, n° 1, 15, 23, 40, 58, 65, 74, 82, 90, 91, 126, 138, 140, 153, 167, 171). For the first time, the royal court abandoned the neighborhoods of Pediaios river to settle down in the north-east of the city near the monastery of the Carmelites. The tradition identified the last palace of the Lusignan with the Konak or Ottoman government office (Noël Dominique Hurtrel in Cobham 1908, 232; Stochove 1643, 249; Soderini 1671, fol. 21r).

The urban landscape was also transformed by the social changes of the fourteenth century, the rise of the social status and the increasing wealth of the Greek and Syrian bourgeoisie influenced the organization of the religious Nicosia space (Arbel 1989, 175–197; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, 41–53). The historiography often reduced the patronage to that of the royal power with the example of Helena Palaiologina (Machairas 2003, 461; Bustron 1886, 375; Boustronios 1997, 12–13; Boustronios 2005, 70) and St. George of Mangana (Leventis 2005, 273–275; Trélat 2009, II n° 88; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 164–166). Patronage was in fact, the work of several families that settled in the capital and made a fortune in business or in government office. The Bibi and Flatro (family: Grivaud 2008, 221–241; monastery: Trélat 2009, II n° 91; Leventis 2005, 271; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 169) families associated their names with the great monasteries of the capital, the first one of them is mentioned since 1345 (*Athos Iviron*, ms 374; Constantinides and Browning 1993, 202; Leventis 2005, 267; Trélat 2009, II n° 89; Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 166–167). We can be assured that among the churches recorded only for their demolition in 1567, many were erected in the fifteenth century (Grivaud 1992, 281–307). The wills of the Audeth family show that the generosity of the faithful for religious buildings extended to all denominations. This family, whose members were mostly of the Jacobite faith, dwelt in a predominantly Armenian district rather than in the North-East of the city where there were several Jacobite establishments (Richard 1981, 89–129). The religious criterion does not seem adequate to understand the divisions of urban space as it was the case in the four major Genoese commercial places in the East (Balard 1989, 120). References to ethnic neighborhoods appear only in later writings and never in the writings of travelers. The maps of Nicosia in 1370 and 1500 show a clear scattering of places of worship of Eastern Christians in the urban space (Figs. 3 and 4).

The increase of religious buildings in the fifteenth century certainly responded to a stronger spiritual demand but also to a growing population. It is estimated that the population of Nicosia had doubled until the Ottoman seizure of the city on September 9, 1570. Urban growth occurred also outside the wall along the main roads (Arbel 1984, 196–198).

However, the main features of the organization of urban space within the medieval walls were unaltered: on both sides of the Pediaios River, there are housing districts scattered with numerous gardens and significant ecclesiastical property. In the Venetian time, the urban transformation consisted of the development of a large *piazza* in front of the palace of *luocotenenti* and especially new constructions in 1567 (Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel 2012, 204–208).

A civic identity in the making?

The evolution of the urban space suggests the maturity of urban society. In the Western Europe, the economical and commercial rise of the towns resulted that the burghers proclaimed their autonomy and bound themselves by oath to defend it. This urban emancipation strengthened the civic identity in many European towns (Boucheron and Menjot 2011, 291–333). It may be illustrated by the numerous chroniclers' wish to praise the town where they lived: Sigebert of Gembloux for Metz (Bouteiller 1881), Bonvesin de la Riva (1974) for Milan, Jacobus da Varagine for Genoa (Varagine 1995) on Western side; Libanios and his *Oration in Praise of Antioch* and Theodore II Lascaris and his *Praise of Nicaea* on the Byzantine side (Bouffartigue 1996, 43–58). In Cyprus, the chroniclers focused on the Lusignan dynasty and the political events of the realm instead of the history of the capital. Maybe the birth of a common urban identity in Nicosia faced several problems.

The proximity of the royal palace and the interests of the crown in the city were an obstacle to the expression of civic identity. The examination of the urban institutions shows that the viscount was designed by the king who was “sire de la vile” (Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois 1843, 21).

The mosaic formed by the Cypriot society with the juxtaposition of different Christian faiths (Roman, Syrian, Orthodox) raised fears that ethnic and religious feelings prevailed over the membership in the same urban complex. Even if Nicosia did have ethnic neighborhoods, religious identity and solidarity provided a frame of reference for interpreting the Nicosian society (Grivaud 2000, 43–70). For example, it seems that Jews and Syrians were more engaged in the process of

dyeing and of weaving than others nations (Richard 1979, n° 35, 168; Arbel 1979, 24).

The reproduction by the Latin elites of the social structures inherited from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, copied from Western models also suggests the character of impermeable strata. The social stratification could prevent the rise of a civic identity (Richard 1979, 157–173).

Despite these obstacles, a consciousness to belong to the same urban community emerged without compromising other forms of social and religious affiliation. In the political field, the urban forms of solidarity are difficult to grasp. Unlike the western urban institutional structures, Nicosians did not receive charters of freedom even if spaces of autonomy were obvious in the legislation of the burgess court. Two citizens retained the key to a chest that contained the cartulary of the court of the bourgeois, a symbol of urban autonomy vis-à-vis the royal power (Trélat (forthcoming); “Abrégé du Livre des Assises de la cour des Bourgeois” 1843, 236–237).

More clearly, the consciousness of belonging to the same city emerged during natural disasters that struck Nicosia. Solidarity between inhabitants built up during the floods but also during the construction of six bridges which crossed the city and the building of embankments. The square in front of the church of St. George of the Latins was a commemorative site because a nail was stuck in St. George’s wall to celebrate the memory of the terrible and murderous flood of the Pediaios river in 1330 (Machairas 2003, 101; Jauna 1747, II 808–809).

The urban consciousness also proceeded from festivals and civic celebrations. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, public ceremonies, coronations, weddings, funerals and royal entrances provided an opportunity for the court to meet the local population and to strengthen its cohesion. The sacred feasts were strong elements in the civic life of the kingdom and a time for collective celebration which put on front stage the city and its inhabitants. Florio Bustron focuses on the description of different scenes of the ceremony of the coronation of Peter II in January 1372 (Bustron 1886, 282–287). A procession, led the king to the royal palace to the cathedral Hagia Sophia, marked the opening ceremony. After the coronation by the archbishop, the solemn procession took the same route in the opposite direction, to join the royal residence, where a banquet awaited the guests.

As in the West, the king entered the Gates of the city follow a ritual, described by the chronicler Machairas upon return of Peter I in 1368 and in the case of the entrance of King Janus at Nicosia in 1385 (Machairas 2003, 197, 418; Strambaldi 1893, 286–287). These

functions had a religious dimension with the participation of all communities to the ecumenical procession that went to the cathedral, and after the service, all accompanied the king to the royal court. As in the coronation ceremony, the day ended with a banquet hosted by the king with all citizens, knights, clerics and burghers of the city. The festivities lasted until late in the night, the streets were lighted as was recorded by columnists (Amadi 1891, 421, 494, 515; Machairas 2003, 197, 418; Strambaldi 1893, 286–287; Boustronios 1997, 72–73; Bustron 1886, 54, 270, 392).

The identity of the Cypriot capital was built upon a myth of Venetian origin; the city born on the water. Florio Bustron reports at the beginning of *Istoria* that the Cypriot capital was founded on a malaria-infected area and every year, on St. Tryphillios Day (Delehay 1907, 241; Hackett 1909, 388–389; Mouriki 1993, 242), people would spread gorse, reeds and others grasses growing in marshes near the church dedicated to the first bishop of the city (Bustron 1886, 26). This ceremony commemorated the foundation of the city and reminded Nicosians of the difficulty experienced by the first settlers to tame a site of hostile nature. This story like all myths must contain an element of truth. The toponymy reveals names suggesting the presence of swamps in the suburb of Nicosia, like Pallouriotissa, which refers to grasses that grow in swamps (Kargotou 1950, 45–81). However, we must also admit that this story fits in perfectly with the broader approach of Florio Bustron to assert an autonomous Cypriot identity of the Republic of Venice. As the *Signora*, Florio built the myth of a city emerging from the swamps of Massaria (Crouzet-Pavan 1999, 17–73).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be noted that the evolution of Nicosia in many ways resembles that of Western cities from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The transformation of its urban space occurred in several stages. After a period of rapid growth stimulated by the establishment of the civil and religious Latin power and the development of trade and crafts, Nicosia experienced a period of crisis and decline resulting from the Great Plague of 1348 and the war against Genoa in 1373–1374. In the fifteenth century, despite the Mamluk invasion and civil war, the city of Nicosia returned to prosperity as the multiplication of religious foundations and private princely palaces demonstrate.

In relationship to Western European urban history, Nicosia retained elements typically oriental in its urban morphology. As noted by western travelers, the importance of building space, gardens,

architecture princely palaces around a square courtyard, market organization and the layout of the stalls along the *ruga coperta* and the diversity of religious buildings reflected the relation of Nicosia to the Eastern Mediterranean.

A melding of eastern and western urban models, Nicosia is perceived primarily as a royal capital, the seat of the Lusignan dynasty. Its institutional evolution as an urban area is deeply marked by the presence of the king between the walls of the city. Moreover, its urban autonomy remains limited and hinders the development of a true civic consciousness.

In this year of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Catherina Cornaro, it is necessary to underline the intimate link which united the queen with her Nicosians by quoting the end of the chronicle of Georgios Boustronios describing the Queen's farewell to Nicosians: "Furthermore, on 15 February 1489 the queen exited from Nicosia in order to go to Famagusta, to leave Cyprus. And when she went on horseback wearing a black silken cloak, with all the ladies and the knights in her company [...]. Her eyes, moreover did not cease to shed tears throughout the procession. The people likewise shed many tears." (Boustronios 1997, 316–318; Boustronios 2005, 174).

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1 For instance, see the mention of various Nicosian churches in the deed of Iohannes del Castel in Otten-Froux (2003, n° 175). Catherine Otten-Froux has proven the value of the Genoa's documentation for the religious topography of Famagusta: Otten-Froux (2001, 144–154).

2 On the influence of Italian merchants in Cyprus: Balard (2007).

3 We have several accounts of medieval pilgrims travelling between Famagusta and Nicosia: Steffan von Gumpenberg (1450), Dietrich von Schachten (1491) in Grivaud (1990, 63–64, 134); Nompars de Caumont (1420) in La Grange (1858, 77).

4 An example of waterwheel in Venetian Cyprus was drawn by Alessandro Magno in his *Viaggio a Cipro* (Folger-Shakespeare Library, Manuscript Va 259, fol. 68r) in Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel (2012, 117).

5 It is certainly possible that such medieval covered street were an inheritance of colonnaded streets in Hellenistic cities (Damascus, Philippopolis, Susita...): Segal (1997, 5–53).

6 E. Zachariou will publish the results of the excavation at the site of the New Law Courts. An introduction will be provided by Ch. Schabel.

7 We do not follow Panos Leventis who admits that all references to a royal palace in Nicosia before 1426 refer to the first building east of the city. The embellishment of the inside of palace by King Hugh IV should already refer to residence southwest of the city. Bustron (1886, 251), Leventis (2005, 385–386). In addition, Hans-Bernard von Eptingen notes the destruction by the Mamluks of Lusignan palace which is located west of the city, “so liegt der alt Pallast uf die linke Seiten” Grivaud (1990, 74). This last statement confirms the existence of a second distinct palace.

8 Fra Bartholomeo Nogiero claimed in 1567 that the Campo santo was near the Barbaro bastion North of the city: Grivaud (1992, 302, 304). This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of the Machairas' chronicle which located the cemetery near the casal Trachonas: Machairas (2003, 313).

9 According to the military engineer, Ascanio Savorgnano, the perimeter of the Lusignan walls was four Venetian miles, which represents 7 340 meters: Luke (1932, 22).



CYPRLOT SOCIETY



Towards a history of the histories of Cyprus

Anna Cannavò

Gathering all the elements for a comprehensive history of studies on Ancient Cyprus is not an easy task. Even though Cypriot archaeology is a relatively young discipline, with its beginnings in the mid-19th century. A great variety and number of archaeologists, historians, collectors of antiquities, scholars and amateurs have since involved themselves, some occasionally, some for a whole lifetime, in exploring and excavating the island, and in analysing documents and ruins with the aim of enlightening its past. To this day, there exists no complete study of the historical and archaeological exploration of Cyprus; the existing partial surveys (Masson 1983, 18–29, focusing on the epigraphic and linguistic studies; Hermay 1990, about the history of the studies on sculpture) are no more than useful guides on how to first approach this matter and the historical figures involved.

In this paper, we shall limit ourselves to the history of studies regarding the era of the independent Cypriot kingdoms, that is c. 11th–4th c. BCE. This is a key period for the definition and consolidation of the island's identity, and it is not surprising that increasing attention has been dedicated, during the last years, to elucidating not only the historical processes characterising this period (most of all, the Hellenisation of the island), but also the different and conflicting interpretations of those processes that one hundred and fifty years of research have elaborated (Fourrier 2008).

We can easily identify three main phases in the history of research on Ancient Cyprus. The first, beginning in the mid-19th century and ending in the establishment of the British protectorate over the island in 1878, is characterised by the restless and uncontrolled digging by a number of personalities, mostly learned amateurs and collectors of antiquities, among whom the most famous (and infamous) was the consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola. It is during this period that the most important collections of Cypriot antiquities in European and American museums (the Louvre Museum and the Cabinet des Médailles of the

Bibliothèque Nationale in France; the British Museum; the Berlin Museum; the Metropolitan Museum in New York) were established. The second phase, lasting until 1948, is characterised by a more systematic and controlled archaeological activity, with increasing scientific standards, and by the parallel birth of Cypriot archaeology as a relatively independent subject of research, demanding the elaboration of chronological, material and historical patterns of its own. It is during this period, between 1927 and 1931, that the Swedish Cyprus Expedition worked on the island, attaining very important results by means of a modern and rigorous archaeological methodology founded on stratigraphic analysis. The third phase, beginning with the publication of E. Gjerstad's volume on the archaeology and history of Cyprus in the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (1948), is properly considered the golden age of Cypriot archaeology, with an impressive number (especially after the independence of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960) of archaeological missions from all over the world working to high scientific standards on the island; this last phase has E. Gjerstad as its founding father, and V. Karageorghis as its tireless and prolific investigator and promoter.

If the 1948 volume by E. Gjerstad is undoubtedly the first and greatest scientific systematization of all the archaeological and historical data known at the time about Archaic Cyprus – to the point that it has been described as a “Copernican revolution” in Cypriot archaeology (Fourrier 2007, 115) – it is obvious that even this fundamental work owes a lot to the preceding studies and research, and it would be inaccurate to read the former without first evaluating the latter. As can be easily argued, the 19th century prehistory of Cypriot archaeology is fundamental to the understanding of E. Gjerstad's revolutionary approach and the developments that followed (Tatton-Brown 2001; Rogge 2009).

Studying the origins of Cypriot archaeology in recent years, post colonial studies have paid particular attention to the ideological and political implications of the beginnings of Cypriot studies, contributing to clarifying the historical context of their birth. The scientific personalities who participated, in the first half of the 20th century, to the creation and consolidation of a common shared view of the history of Archaic Cyprus – most significantly J. L. Myres, G. F. Hill and E. Gjerstad – are charged by the post colonialists with the invention and the manipulation of ethnic-based arguments in order to produce a historical reading of the island's past that could be appreciated by the British colonial power. The Eteocypriots, and the ‘Hellenisation narrative’ would be two major results of their work (Given 1998; Leriou 2002 and 2007; Knapp 2008).

The purpose of the present paper is two fold: on one hand we shall

try to demonstrate, through the analysis of a selection of historical works dating from between the mid-19th and the mid-20th centuries and assimilating contemporary results of Cypriot archaeology, that the historical profile of Iron Age Cyprus is not the product of the biased activity of a number of politicized archaeologists, but rather the result of more complex and general trends in the study of ancient history, and of the Eastern Mediterranean basin in particular, beyond the isolated case of Cyprus. On the other hand, we shall see that the island's historical profile, changing in some decades from a Phoenician colonial land (Movers) to a region of purely Greek origin (Casson), is far from homogeneous, and shows on the contrary a great variety of nuances and shifts reflecting the approach and the personality of each historian.

The choice to focus mainly on German and British scholars, thus excluding from the present analysis not only South European (Italian, Greek and Cypriot) but also French and American contemporary works, does not mean that these are uninteresting; however, it has to be acknowledged that for linguistic and historical reasons, the most influential scientific productions on the Eastern Mediterranean between the mid-19th and the mid-20th centuries came, with some exceptions (notably some French scholars),¹ from the Anglo-Saxon (particularly British and German) world, scholars from other countries being largely influenced and conditioned in their scientific priorities from their North-European and American colleagues. A history of Greek and Cypriot scholarship on ancient Cyprus does not exist to my knowledge and it would be a particularly interesting task to accomplish, but the scarce diffusion outside Greece and Cyprus of works written in Greek, especially the less recent ones, is, unfortunately, a serious obstacle for every non-resident researcher.

The Beginnings: Wilhelm Heinrich Engel and Franz Karl Movers

The first comprehensive book written about ancient Cyprus is no doubt the two-volume work of the German Wilhelm Heinrich Engel (1812–1875), *Kypros: Eine Monographie*, which was published in 1841 (Engel 1841). It was a complete survey of the geography, history, religion and mythology of the island, based on a detailed knowledge of literary documents. Engel never travelled to Cyprus (Engel 1841, I, v), and he was therefore unaware of the surviving archaeological remains. Still, his analysis of the written sources was very useful for travellers and explorers who increasingly visited the island, from the mid-19th century, first of all Ludwig Ross (1806–1859), a German

archaeologist and epigraphist, who was in Cyprus in 1845 (Ross 1852), and was among other things, responsible for the entry of the Sargon stele in the Berlin collections (Mehl 2009, 157).

Reading Engel's work, it is immediately evident that the place accorded to the Phoenicians in the reconstruction of the early history of Cyprus is much more extensive than what is acknowledged today. For Engel, not only are the Phoenicians the first historic people (Engel 1841, 165: "the times before them are for us unattainable") to have reached the island, well before the Greeks, but moreover he considers the whole island as the first and most important Phoenician colony (Engel 1841, 168). We should not be surprised at this. At the time, the great antiquity of the Phoenician civilization, already mentioned in the Bible and in Homeric epic, was generally recognised, and it was common to give a very large importance to Phoenician influence not only on Cyprus and on the Eastern Mediterranean, but in general on Greek culture (Bernal 1987, 337–366, to treat nevertheless with great caution; a better even though less accessible survey is that of Pastor Borgoñon 1988–1990). Ludwig Ross is perhaps the best example as far as Cypriot art and archaeology are concerned. His interpretation of Cypriot sculpture is firmly oriented towards Phoenicia, and the few archaeologists who deal with Cypriot artwork during those same years express the same view (Hermay 1990, 8–9).

To understand the generally shared view at the time about the historical role of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, and particularly in Cyprus (what Hill 1937, 485 will call "the Phoenician mirage"), we have to consider with some care the work of Franz Karl Movers (1806–1856), a German theologian and orientalist, who published between 1841 and 1856 a four-volume book on the Phoenicians, *Die Phönizier*, which immediately became a reference work. In the third volume, Movers analyses the history of pre-Hellenistic Cyprus, and strongly highlights the elements showing, in his opinion, the ancient and long-lasting supremacy of Phoenicia over Cyprus (Movers 1850, 203–204):

From the facing Phoenician shores came the greater part of the original inhabitants of Cyprus; from there the Phoenician hegemonic states Byblos, Sidon and Tyre founded their colonies in Cyprus, and in other times, when not these states, but the great empires of Assyria, Chaldea and Egypt were powerful in Phoenicia, Cyprus stayed with the facing continental shores under the Phoenician authority.²

The identification of the three great Phoenician city-states Byblos, Sidon and Tyre as the founders of colonies on Cyprus is not accidental.

In the mythological tales concerning Archaic Cyprus, Movers believed to find the historical signs of the Phoenician domination over the island (Movers 1850, 226):

In the light of Phoenician history, we can discern in the legendary history of Cyprus the three periods, when Byblos first, then Sidon and finally Tyre were the hegemonic states in Phoenicia and equally in Cyprus.

These three periods are represented in Cypriot legends through the Cypro-Phoenician kings Kinyras of Byblos, Belus of Sidon and Pygmalion of Tyre.

The Canaanite origin of the Cypriots was argued from Biblical references to Kittîm, and a detailed reading of a number of biblical passages demonstrated the continued control of Phoenicia over Cyprus and its kingdoms (Movers 1850, 204–226). The Greeks were established on the island only from the 8th century BCE, and they occupied cities already founded and colonised by the Phoenicians; it was during Tyre's increasing difficulties in the face of growing Babylonian power, in the first half of the 6th century BCE, that the Greeks seized the Cypriot kingdoms and finally became, during the Classical Age, the masters of the island (Movers 1850, 244):

When we also think that the Greek colonies in the East towards Phoenicia started at the earliest, like in Cilicia, at the end of the 8th century, so we have to consider the most ancient Greek foundations in the island, like that of the Teucrian Gergithes in Salamis, in view of the long-lasting domination the Tyrians had over Cyprus till the Chaldeo-Egyptian period as Tyrian colonies, from where the previous inhabitants have been deported or chased away on political grounds. [...] For the first time since when the Greeks had become powerful in the near regions, in Lower Egypt and in Cilicia, as the Tyrians had lost their sea power during the Chaldeo-Egyptian war and Amasis, the friend of the Greeks, had taken Cyprus from the Tyrians (569 BC) and dominated it, while Tyre was destroyed from the inside through political disasters (572–556 BC), the Cypriot cities, with the exception of Amathus, took over Greek colonists in great number, and now for the first time, during the domination of Amasis, Salamis gave its first performance as a powerful Greek state under the king Evelthon.

Movers' reading of the archaic history of Cyprus was bound to gain authority and consensus among his contemporaries, historians and archaeologists. But new scientific results (first of all, the deciphering of the Cypro-syllabic script during the 1870s, and the discovery that it was employed to write Greek: Masson 1983, 48–51), and the improving knowledge of Cypriot art and civilization thanks to the plundering of Cypriot heritage all through the second half of the 19th century (with the excavations of L. Palma di Cesnola, M. de Vogüé, R. Hamilton Lang: Hermary 1990, 9–13), were about to transform the foundations of the scientific interpretation of Cypriot archaic history.

The discovery of Cypriot Hellenism: Georg Busolt and Eduard Meyer

It was not only a matter of Cyprus. The whole field of ancient history was passing through a period of great transformations and extensive renewal: trends which emerged during the second half of the 19th century deeply marked studies of the ancient world until at least the Second World War, and influenced the historical interpretation of ancient Cyprus and in general of the Aegean basin and the Eastern Mediterranean. Some of these new trends and their implications are well known: the transformation of history into a branch of learning and teaching in the university, with a scientific code of its own (Momigliano 1985); the growing influence of national ideologies in reading and interpreting the past; the rise of anti-Semitic and racial theories; the spectacular archaeological discoveries (particularly in Greece and in Anatolia), establishing the growing importance of archaeological material as a document for historical reconstruction (Ampolo 1997, 79–106).

It is also essential to keep in mind the chronology of certain discoveries of the second half of the 19th century that are fundamental to the matter at hand: in 1974 Heinrich Schliemann began excavating the site of Mycenae, marking the birth of a scientific interest in the Greek Bronze Age and the Mycenaean civilisation; in 1900 Arthur Evans added the Minoans to the picture with his explorations of Knossos. Though still silent (the Mycenaean writing system, Linear B, was deciphered only in 1952, while the Cretan writing systems remain undeciphered), the material remains from these excavations attested to the existence of highly developed civilisations in 2nd millennium Greece and the Aegean, and they produced a real revolution in ancient historical studies (McDonald and Thomas 1990; Fitton 1995. Especially on Cyprus and the Late Bronze Age: Fitton 2001; Steel 2001). More to the East, the discovery since

1887 of the Amarna archive brought the kingdom of Alashiya into the historical debate, throwing some light on the Cypriot Bronze Age.

Georg Busolt (1850–1920), a German historian, was the author of a famous work on Greek history, *Griechische Geschichte biszum Schlacht bei Chaironeia*, published between 1885 and 1888 (in two volumes), and then revised and partially republished between 1893 and 1904 (in four volumes). Only eight years divide the first edition of the first volume (1885), where the archaic history of Cyprus is treated in some detail, from the second edition of the same volume, in 1893, but this short lapse of time is enough to appreciate the evolution of historical knowledge of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean and in Cyprus. The careful and up-to-date work of Busolt is then particularly well-suited to show the progressive introduction of Cyprus into the new born Mycenaean studies, a fact which, some years later, will be at the heart of John Lindon Myres' work (Leriuou 2007, 9–10).

In the first edition of his book, Busolt describes at length Schliemann's discoveries in Mycenae, as well as Mycenaean artistic and technical productions, where he identifies some oriental (Phoenician) influences, especially in metalworking and in religious iconography (Busolt 1885, 75–84). But the Mycenaean culture, dated to the 12th–11th century BCE, is by no means put in relation to the Hellenisation of Cyprus: in Busolt's interpretation, the island received its first Greek colonies only in the 9th century BCE (Busolt 1885, 295–298), by which time it had been frequented for centuries by the Phoenicians, who had by then established the great majority of its cities – Kition, Paphos, Lapethos, Keryneia, Karpasia, Golgoi, Idalion and Tamassos (Busolt 1885, 171–172). As in the work of Movers and that of many others (e.g. Duncker 1860², 498; Maspero 1886, 315; according to Lenormant 1888, 487, the foundation of Kition by the Phoenicians was to be dated from between the 17th and the 14th centuries BCE), the Phoenician control of Cyprus antedates the arrival of the Greeks, and it is the weakness of the former that enabled the establishment of the latter: “the difficulties of the Phoenicians made easier the advancing of the Greeks” (Busolt 1885, 295).

Eight years later, the picture changed, and the concept of a new age, a *Kupferbronzezeit*, is introduced: “In Cyprus we have to distinguish two main periods, a Chalcolithic Age and a Greco-Phoenician Iron Age” (Busolt 1893, 44). The first period, the Chalcolithic Age, is also divided into two main stages: a first sharing in a common material culture ranging over central Europe and Western Anatolia, and a second stage marked by the first Semitic influences (coming from Mesopotamia), and by Mycenaean, Egyptian and Hittite influences up to the 11th century, when the beginning of the Iron Age provoked a shift in the material evidence. The

Mycenaean influence is particularly well documented by pottery, which was imitated and produced by the Cypriots themselves later on, during the Iron Age (Busolt 1893, 44–47). The chronology of the establishment of Phoenician colonies in the Aegean is fixed at the end of the Mycenaean civilisation, during the 12th century, even if a prosperous Phoenician commercial net likely existed already earlier (Busolt 1893, 263–264). The arrival of the Greeks in Cyprus is no longer a matter of the Phoenicians' weakness; links with the Mycenaean culture having been recognised, the establishment of the Greeks is dated back to the 11th century BCE, substantially contemporaneous with the arrival of the Phoenicians (Busolt 1893, 318–320):

The Dorian penetration in the Peloponnese also pushed a great part of the local population to look for new lands to settle and to cross the sea. But as the Dorians succeeded, only few traces of this pre-Dorian colonisation have survived. To it belong in particular the Greek establishments in Cyprus. Approximately in the 11th century, the Greco-Phoenician Iron culture gradually started to oust in Cyprus the local Bronze culture. While on one side the Phoenicians were gaining ground especially in Kition, a Greek population took another part of the island in his possession. [...] Archaeological finds, particularly vessels, which represent a direct development of the Mycenaean ones, contribute to confirm the hypothesis that the Cypriot Greeks came from the Peloponnese towards the end of the Mycenaean period.

Busolt's work was very well documented, and it reflected the changing opinion of the archaeological and scholarly community working on Cyprus at the very end of the 19th century. As his sources, Busolt could quote Alexander Enmann, the German philologist who argued, in 1886, for the Greek and non-Semitic character of the Cypriot Aphrodite (Enmann 1886); the pioneering studies of Furtwängler and Löschcke (1886) on the Mycenaean pottery found on the island; all the works on the deciphering of the Cypro-syllabic script, as well as the main epigraphic and numismatic documents. Right at the same time, archaeologists working in Cyprus were connecting the Mycenaean and Mycenaean-type pottery that they found in always-greater quantities while excavating the island to the introduction of the Greek language towards the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st millennium BCE, and to the foundation legends that added to the linguistic and the cultural phenomena with both historical and ethnic implications. Myres' activity on the island, first

as an archaeologist, and then as the curator, with Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, of the first catalogue of the Cyprus Museum (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899), joins this general trend, de-emphasising the importance of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean Bronze Age at the benefit of the Mycenaean civilisation (Leriu 2007, 9–10). As it has been observed, given the revolutionary impact of the discovery of Mycenaean culture on ancient historical studies, it is not surprising that Cyprus – with a great number of Mycenaean objects discovered during excavations, with a substantial mythological tradition of Homeric heroes migrating to the island, and with an archaic writing system apparently close to the Mycenaean one – easily lost its Phoenician characterisation to be considered in just a short lapse of time the eastern outpost of the Mycenaean world (Fitton 1995, 108–110).

Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*, originally published in five volumes between 1884 and 1902, and later significantly revised and republished several times, added to the picture already sketched in the works of Busolt and others, his profound knowledge of oriental languages and cultures, and his universal concept of history (Momigliano 1981). In Meyer's book Cyprus is placed within the entire Eastern Mediterranean historical context, whose interpretation also significantly changed between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century because of developments in Assyriological studies, and the discovery of the Amarna archive and of the Hittite world (to mention only the greatest developments touching directly the interpretation of the history of Cyprus).

As in the case of Busolt's work, the difference between the first and the second editions of the first two volumes reveals the progress made in contemporary research. Between 1884 and 1893 the first two volumes of the first edition of Meyer's work were published. Here we find, as expected, a description of the Phoenician colonial movements, beginning as early as the 15th century, and touching first of all Cyprus (Meyer 1884, 230):

In the 15th century BC the sea voyages of the Phoenicians are already highly developed; how many centuries earlier they could have started, escapes entirely our knowledge. [...] The first objective was Cyprus, whose richness in copper attracted particularly the establishment of settlements; on the island there are also silver and iron. Cyprus, where we find no traces of previous inhabitants, was completely colonised by the Phoenicians; on the south coast rose the cities of Kition, Amathus, Paphos, etc., on the fertile plains of the interior Golgoi, Idalion,

Tamassos. Under Thutmosis III the king of Cyprus (that is, Asebi) is repeatedly mentioned; so it seems that at that time the island formed a single state.

The kingdom of Alashiya (that is, Asebi; see on the Egyptian names of Cyprus Kitchen 2009) is considered a Phoenician state, assembling all the Phoenician colonies of the island. The Greeks arrived to chase the Phoenicians from a part of the island only in the 11th century (Meyer 1884, 336–337):

Hardly later than the 11th century, and maybe even far before, Greek colonists entered Cyprus, and they soon founded Salamis in the fertile plane on the east of the island. Then they gradually took away most cities from the Phoenicians and they also founded some new ones, such as Marion and Kourion; only in Kition, Amathus, Lapethos and in the inland areas did the Phoenicians remained autonomous till the Hellenistic age.

The Mycenaean world is still almost totally ignored, and even if some aspects are already correctly interpreted (e.g. the chronology of the Hellenisation of the island), this must be seen as chance, or intuition, as some fundamental discoveries were yet to be made. The history of the island after the establishment of the Greeks is well known and explained through the relevant documents: the bronze bowls dedicated to Ba'al of Lebanon (CIS I 5), mentioning the Cypriot Carthage, the relationship between Tyre and Kition, and the Assyrian and the Egyptian conquests (Meyer 1884, 343, 433–435, 488–489, 600).

The second volume, published in 1893, already shows a consistent evolution: now a pre-Phoenician population of the island is presumed, coming from Anatolia (Meyer 1893, 125), and the Greek colonisation is put in direct relationship with the Mycenaean presence during the 13th and 12th centuries BCE (Meyer 1893, 222; as we have seen, G. Busolt attained the same conclusions in the same year: Busolt 1893, 320); the Phoenicians still maintain antecedence over the Greek in colonising the island (Meyer 1893, 221–222), but the cultural mixture (someone would say *hybridity*) and homogeneity, reposing on the early cohabitation of Greek, Phoenicians and local peoples, and on their mutual influences, is repeatedly emphasised (Meyer 1893, 225):

So rises a Cypriot mixed culture, which really follows, as far as certain details are concerned, the different national customs – the Greeks write with their syllabic script, the Phoenicians with their alphabet; among the Phoenicians

the influence of Egypt and Assyria dominates, very common for ex. are Egyptian amulets and divine images, while among the Greeks the influence of the motherland is never completely interrupted – but which is united in the main aspects, in the shape of the weapons, of the house furniture, in the disposition of the holy places and of the tombs, etc.

The following edition of Meyer's work, between 1909 (the first volume) and 1931 (the second part of the second volume), is updated through the years to include the new achievements of contemporary research on Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1909, Meyer recognised that the Phoenicians had arrived in Cyprus only after the Greeks, and that the kingdom of Alashiya, also mentioned in the Amarna tablets, was not a Phoenician kingdom (Meyer 1909, 669–673). In 1928, the establishment of the Greeks in Cyprus, and consequently the end of the kingdom of Alashiya, is dated to the end of the Mycenaean period, and the foundation of the main island's cities (Salamis, Paphos, Chytroi, Kourion, Idalion) is attributed to the Greeks, while the Phoenicians, arriving after the Greeks, established themselves only in Kition (Meyer 1928, 552–555). In 1931, the description of the Phoenician colonisation of Cyprus sounds like a complete retraction of the ancient theories (Meyer 1931, 87):

So the opposition between Greek and Phoenician colonisation appears with great clearness: the Phoenicians occupied two coastal places [*i.e.* Kition and Lapethos], and from there they devoted themselves to the trade with the local people, the Greeks on the contrary have not only occupied the most coastal places all around, but also taken possession of the great inland plane, and from there, by means of Idalion and Tamassos, they took in their hands the exploitation of the copper mines.

Between 1884 and 1931, between the first and the last version of Meyer's great work, fundamental changes had taken place. Knowledge of the Bronze Age Aegean had expanded drastically since Arthur Evans discovered the Minoan civilisation; his studies on the Aegean writing systems did not leave Cyprus untouched. He coined the name *Cypro-Minoan* for the island's Bronze Age writing system, which he rightly supposed to be of Cretan inspiration. He also formulated for the first time the theory of a two-wave Greek penetration of Cyprus, that was revised and modified many times in the debate on the Hellenisation of the island (Leriu 2007, 10–12; Fourrier 2008).

The discovery of a non-Greek, indecipherable language written in

the Cypro-syllabic script was also an important step towards the formation of the contemporary common historical view of Archaic and Classical Cyprus, and it is a discovery dating of those same years. Far from being a creation of the Swedish Mission in Cyprus for the benefit of British colonialism (Given 1998), the theory of the existence of a local people and language in ancient Cyprus (and the identification of the local people with the Amathusians, as suggested by Ps. Skyl. 103) was well known and largely present in the historical literature of the first decades of the 20th century (Meyer 1893, 225, even before the identification of the Eteocypriot inscriptions; Beloch 1912, 136 and note 2; Glotz 1925, 86, 107, repeatedly speaking of “indigènes”; Casson 1937, 163–164; Hill 1937; see also Given 1998, 18–20). What researchers lacked before the publication of Gjerstad’s volume was the archaeological evidence substantiating the linguistic and literary arguments; it is not surprising that the careful and scientific work of the Swedish Mission could provide such evidence, and give the autochthonous Cypriot people (called the Eteocypriots since 1932: Friedrich 1932, 49) an archaeological illustration. As was the case for Myres’ work, Gjerstad’s studies, however innovative and original, share in the general trends of their time, which can account for their methodological, theoretical and ideological foundations, as long as we take care to elucidate their historiographical and scientific context.

Before Einar Gjerstad: The Histories of Stanley Casson and George Francis Hill

Decades of restless scientific activity on the Greek Bronze Age and Eastern Mediterranean history had contributed to changing drastically Cyprus’ linguistic, cultural, material and ethnic profile. Engel’s monograph was definitively obsolete, and no other work was sufficiently accurate and specific to replace it as the standard treatment of Ancient Cyprus. Some years before the publication of Gjerstad’s volume (which would immediately become the most authoritative work on Archaic Cyprus) two new books were published providing a summarisation of current historical views.

The first was Stanley Casson’s *Ancient Cyprus: Its Art and Archaeology*, which appeared in 1937 (Casson 1937). A good connoisseur of Greek sculpture and archaeology, Casson made some interesting observations on Cypriot sculpture and art (Hermayr 1990, 15), but his analysis of Cypriot ancient history is strongly influenced and distorted by his enthusiastic belief of the superiority of Greek art and civilisation, which is distinctly discernable from the first lines of the preface (Casson 1937, v):

Cyprus is the only British possession which serves to illustrate the history and activities of the Greeks. Its contributions to our knowledge of Greek art are numerous and important. It has long had attached to it the label of 'Oriental' without any attempt being made to see how far that description referred to superficial elements in its life. I prefer to see the history and art of the Cypriots as those of Oriental Greeks rather than of Hellenized Orientals. For in many respects Cyprus retained more qualities which are ancient Greek, or perhaps Achaean, than any area of the Greek world. The Orient bore upon it at times with overwhelming force, but the Greek element always seemed to emerge in the end.

The most important characteristic that Casson recognises in Cypriot culture is the "habit of survival", clearly linked to insularity. This allows him to look for the most ancient Mycenaean and Greek cultural features, as they survived in the subsequent Cypriot civilisation. Even while repeatedly claiming to give serious attention to the local Cypriot element (especially Casson 1937, 61–64, 163–164), Casson devotes the greatest care to elucidating the Mycenaean elements introduced on the island since the 14th century BCE, among others the kingship, the writing system and the language. He argues strongly against Gjerstad (Gjerstad 1926, 1934 and 1935) and following Myres (Myres 1914) in favour of an early Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus (Casson 1937, 39–71), concluding that there "are several different lines of approach which all lead to the firm conclusion that a powerful process of colonization was set in movement from west to east soon after 1400" (Casson 1937, 62). He links artistic production to the contemporary political history, as was already the case for Myres' studies on Cypriot sculpture (Hermayr 1990, 14–15), and he underlines in his treatment of sculpture the propulsive role of the Greeks, as well as the emancipated and unconventional style of Cypriot potters (Casson 1937, 158–206).

Casson's work was of high quality, but because of his Greek-oriented perspective (which, without omitting the local component, largely underestimated the Eastern, oriental influences), it was not fully convincing. Much more balanced, the first volume of George Francis Hill's *History of Cyprus*, dedicated to the ancient periods and published three years after Casson's volume (1940), has remained a reference work until recently. Hill's exhaustive synthesis gives a perfect idea of the state of research on the eve of Gjerstad's revolutionary studies. As in the case of Casson, we find some programmatic ideas in the general statements of the preface, which

are later discernable all through the book (Hill 1940, ix):

“Cyprus has had no continuous history of its own, except to some degree in the Lusignan period. What light we have on it is chiefly a pale and shifting reflection from the activities of the great powers which from age to age have found it necessary to deal with it [...] whether as colonists or as conquerors”.

This interpretation of the history of Cyprus as a succession of foreign dominations following one another is characteristic of a large part of the research on Cyprus, and only in recent years has a greater attention for the local perspective and the inner historical developments been forcing this approach to be reconsidered (Iacovou 2007). So in Hill’s work, as well as in Myres’ and later in Gjerstad’s, the Greek, Phoenician, Assyrian and Egyptian presences in the history of Archaic Cyprus are the reason for corresponding influences on Cypriot art and civilisation. But contrary to Casson, who tried to present Cypriot culture as something original, merging and reinterpreting the external (but essentially Greek) elements in an original way, Hill’s view of ancient Cyprus is shared between the elements composing it. A question arises then, which is how far Cyprus can be considered Greek, or Phoenician (Hill 1940, 93–94 and 98):

The question how far the Cypriote nation was Greek naturally arises out of the foregoing pages. It is partly answered for us by the expressed opinion of an Athenian poet on the nature of the Cypriote. To him, it would seem, the Cypriote type was something strikingly foreign. That is the essential meaning of a curious passage in the *Suppliant Women* of Aeschylus. [*Supp.* 288–289...] The passage has exercised the ingenuity of emendators; but all agree in leaving the general sense that the Suppliants make the king think of some alien non-Greek type. Obviously, in the face of such a fact, attempts which have been made, and will doubtless continue to be made, to prove that the Cypriotes were pure Greeks, must be futile. [About this passage, see Leriou 2007, 18: “This statement smells strongly of politics and should be viewed against the background of the British colonial policies concerning the demand of the Cypriots to unite with Greece”].

The status of the Phoenician people, to whom it was formerly the fashion to attribute so many of the elements

which went to make up Greek culture, has of late years been considerably diminished. [...] Yet that they had technical ability of a high order it is impossible for anyone to deny who studies their epigraphy; so elegant a writing as is seen in some of their inscriptions cannot have belonged to a people wholly without taste. Unfortunately, in Cyprus, which was the first stage in the westward tend of their influence, they seem to have met with a Greek or native strain which was not sufficiently strong to absorb them. No real synthesis was ever effected; [...]

The image of Cyprus that comes off of Hill's pages is that of an island without a civilisation of its own, taking all its cultural features from the outside, and adopting them without any original elaboration. Hill would give the Greeks, Phoenicians and Eteocypriots only juxtaposition as a means to form their Cypriot culture.

Eight years later, in 1948, the publication of Gjerstad's volume firmly and definitively established the right of Cypriot civilisation to be studied on its own, and not as a mixture of foreign elements. If, as in Gjerstad's view, the external contributions are essential for the definition and the development of Cypriot culture, there always exists a local substratum changing and assimilating the inputs from outside, and building up from them a single civilisation, the Cypriot civilisation: in this approach lies the originality, the "Copernican revolution" of the Swedish studies on the island's antiquities.

From that moment on, research on Cyprus has had to take into account Gjerstad's organic, ethnic and political-based interpretation of Cypriot art and civilisation. What followed is then a completely different story, which has been partially told in a recent study (Fourrier 2008), but much work has certainly still to be done: our history, however, has to stop here.

Conclusions

The purpose of this brief historiographical journey has been to show that, besides imperialistic, colonial and national ideologies, many other factors have played a role in the elaboration of the commonly shared view of the Cypriot Iron Age that has dominated for decades in the scientific literature. It is not a matter of denying that political and ideological exploitation of contemporary archaeological achievements could have taken place (as may have been the case of the Eteocypriots, exploited by the British colonial power to reduce the importance of the philhellenic nationalistic Cypriot movement). Nor is it a matter of denying that archaeologists can be conditioned and

influenced by contemporary political and national ideologies. On the contrary, because each historian and each scholar is a child of his time, it is crucial to set him correctly in contemporary scientific and philosophic context, in order to give his work a historical meaning, and to account for his ideas, conclusions, achievements and mistakes. This is a crucial point, which can be explained at best through the words of Arnaldo Momigliano, from a public lecture at the Oriental Institute of Chicago in 1982 (Momigliano 1982, 253–254):

Rumours are spreading that historians simply manipulate data in order to make propaganda for the political, social and religious beliefs they happen to cherish at a given moment and place. [...] There is of course a great difference between saying that historians tend to be biased and saying that historians are bound to be biased and would be wise to recognize this fact of life as soon as possible. But the implications of both positions are practically the same: historians are seen as manipulators of the past for their more or less respectable ends. [...] The point of view I should like to bring into the discussion of this thorny situation is itself a historical one. History has a history. Even a superficial examination of the conditions in which historical research has developed may perhaps help us to introduce an element of proportion and a criterion of judgement.

Momigliano was not reacting particularly against post-colonialist theory (which did not exist in ancient historical studies yet), but his observations are valid in our case as well. The Eteocyprists, as well as the “Hellenisation narrative”, are not the propagandistic and politicised invention of historians “manipulators of the past” (whether consciously or not does not matter), but rather the results of the research of a number of scholars interested in enlightening Cyprus’ ancient past, and employing, to reach this common goal, their own strategies and models, by reading the evidence and interpreting it. Setting their work in its proper context should help us to assess the validity of their conclusions and of their models, and, finally, to give more solid ground to our own.

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1 A larger even if less detailed analysis partially overlapping with the present one and taking into account some more scholars (A. Enmann, K. J. Beloch, A. Evans, G. Glotz), has been published by the author in the *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 42, 2012.

2 The translations from German works are by the author, who tried to keep them as close as possible to the original text and apologises if they are a bit rough and unfluent.

Some remarks on the beginning of the cult of Apollo in Cyprus

Yannick Vernet

Apollo has been famous in the ancient Mediterranean since the Homeric times (Homer, *Hymn to Apollo*). The origins of the god remain mysterious and are still discussed nowadays. He is the only essential divinity of the Greek pantheon whose name does not occur on the tablets bearing some Linear B inscriptions which were uncovered at Pylos and Knossos (Graf 2009, 107). The cult of Apollo emerged during the Cypro-classical period in Cyprus in a general context of Hellenisation of the island. This phenomenon is mainly due to the politics and the ideology promoted by most of the Cypriote kings despite the Persian rule since the last quarter of the 6th century BC (Stylianou 1992, 413 ff.). One of the consequences is the appearance of the “Greek” divinities including Apollo.

Thus, the emergence of the god in Cyprus is more recent compared to most of the ancient world, especially Greece.

The beginning of the Cypriote cult of Apollo at Kourion

The first mention of the theonym Apollo is attested by a 5th century BC inscription from Kourion (Mitford 1971, 46–48). This dedication is carved on the plinth of a temple-boy, one of the characteristic offerings for the god in Cyprus (Fig. 1). This document is very similar to another contemporaneous text of same origin found on the same type of sculpture (Mitford 1971, 49–51). Hence, Apollo became the main god of Kourion where one of his most popular sanctuaries of the island remained until the end of 4th century AD (Buitron-Oliver 1996, 17). Furthermore, it is important to underline that the Apolline cult is not the original one of this *temenos*. It has actually been assimilated with a Cypro-Archaic male divinity only designated as *teo* in few cypro-syllabic dedications from Kourion known from this period

(Mitford 1971, 38–42). Among the rare Cypriote archaic and early classical inscriptions indicating a masculine theonym, the *teo* also occurred at Golgoi-Ayios Phôtios (Masson 1983, 288; Egetmeyer 2010, 614) and Rantidi (Mitford & Masson 1983, 34–35). This observation clearly shows this formula does not designate the “god of Kourion” but a male deity common to the whole island during the archaic times. The assimilation of Apollo with this autochthonous figure is explained by the ideological context and the similarities between the two divinities.

It is true that during the Cypro-Classical period, a phenomenon of Hellenisation influenced the society and the religion of Cyprus and the adoption of the gods from the Greek pantheon was one of its main manifestations. If the assumption that Apollo is an obvious heir of of the *teo* is true, it can be evidenced by many common features of their personalities as it is shown by the votive horsemen (Fig. 2) and charioteers (Fig. 3). A great number of those figurines, mostly in terracotta, had already been dedicated since the 8th century BC at Kourion. They became the main offering to Apollo during the Cypro-Classical period (Young & Young 1955, 220–221). This cult continuity also shows the common essence between the god and the archaic *teo* of Kourion. Those terracotta statuettes underline mainly the protective aspect of the divinity both in a martial and social context. Some of these horsemen indeed depict warriors which symbolize the vow made by the worshipper to obtain the protection of the god during wartime. Throughout its history, Cyprus has been a high stakes for many foreign sovereigns due to its strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean and its numerous resources (copper, timber,...) already praised by Strabo (*Geography*, XIV, 6, 5). For this reason, the island was often involved in different conflicts which are even better evidenced since the 6th century BC and the Persian rule. The opposition between the Achaemenid Empire and the Greeks had a direct impact on the insular society which is illustrated by the participation of the Cypriote kings in the Ionian Revolt at the beginning of the 5th century BC (Stylianou 1992, 413 *ff.*). It is therefore apparent that in this context some figurines of warriors, offered to the god in order to ask for a favourable outcome of the war, were uncovered. The martial character of Apollo, especially as an archer, is a constituent of his personality. This warlike nature is perfectly illustrated in the Homer’s *Iliad* when having been furious, the god, “like the night”, went down from the Olympus and destroyed the Achaean camp with his bow (I, 43–53). This aspect is one of the common characteristics of Apollo and the local *teo* justifying their assimilation. Moreover, some of these terracotta statuettes do not represent fighters but rather horsemen in their daily activities. They

depict worshippers bringing different offerings to the divinity like a sacrificial animal or an amphora containing wine or oil (Young & Young 1955, 221). Others are wearing some elements symbolizing their demand of fertility and regeneration (vegetal crown, snake) (Vernet 2012, 254 ff.). Sometimes, the proportions of the figurine clearly emphasize the horse in order to underline the respect (δῆος) attributed to the animal (J. Karageorghis 1991, 163). The horse was indeed the “men’s inseparable companion” (J. Karageorghis 1991, 164) during the antiquity, owing to both their work, mainly agrarian, and their significance as a means of transportation. Apollo is an *archegetis* divinity who furthers the human civilisation (Detienne 1990, 301 ff.). Likewise, he is essentially related to the social and the personal accomplishment of the people, especially in their profession. That is why those different kinds of horse riders depicting different activities were offered to the god to obtain his favours and his protection. One can observe here another common feature explaining the assimilation of Apollo with the original *teo* of Kourion.



Figure 1: Dedication to Apollo from Kourion – 5th century BC (Mitford 1971, 47).



Figure 2: Terracotta figurine of a warrior from Kourion (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 153).

The votive statues of temple-boys also highlight the protective aspect of the divinity at Kourion. It is not surprising to find the first mention of Apollo in Cyprus on such sculptures since they are characteristic of his worship. These representations of young boys were mainly dedicated in masculine sanctuaries where the presence of the Apolline cult is attested (Hermay 1989, 69; Beer 1993, 77–81). Among the corpus of around 300 Cypriotes temple-boys, at least 45 are coming from the *temenos* of Kourion where they appear to be a typical offering for the god (Beer 1993, 66). The iconography of the seated child in this “typical pose” certainly emerged in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom (Beer 1993, 9). It was then adopted by the Phoenicians who spread it out all over the Mediterranean during the

first millennium BC, which is clearly visible especially in Greece and Cyprus. This trend was finally adapted by the Cypriot artists to become a symbol of the ancient art of the island (Hermayr 1989, 69). The religious significance of the temple-boys is still discussed. Some say that they were offered to the divinity after the completion of the circumcision rite, very popular on the Levantine coast, which would explain why their genitals are exposed (Beer 1993, 131–134). However, the fact that the sex of the temple-boy is not always evident and that few of them were uncovered in Kition, the Phoenician city *par excellence*, leads to preclude this hypothesis. I rather share the idea that these votive statuettes were marking an essential rite of passage. They would symbolise the weaning when the child is abandoning his status of new-born fed by his mother, represented by the *kourotrophoi* (Beer 1993, 134–135). The young boy was then facing a perilous autonomy that needed the protection of a divinity possessing some apotropaic and healing powers. This reasoning is strengthened by the fact that many of the temple-boys wore different kinds of amulets which could have expressed the fear of the parents towards some hostile influences (Fig. 4). These objects had an obvious protective function in order to ensure the good health of the child during this essential phase of his life (Hermayr 1989, 69). While in the Levant the temple-boys were often dedicated to Eshmun, the Semitic god of healing, in Cyprus, this power was mainly attributed to Apollo. He is indeed a god with curative virtues known as *Alexikakos* (Averter of Evil) according to Pausanias (I, 3, 4) or *Iatros* (Healer) according to Lycophron (*Alexandra*, 1207). As it has been mentioned previously, the god is also deeply linked to the prosperity and the development of the human community both in its personal and social aspect. Therefore, in the Cypriote religious context of the Cypro-Classical period, it is apparent that Apollo was chosen to be associated with a cult of such nature at Kourion.

The cultic centre of the Mesaoria plain

The above mentioned features are emblematic of the Apolline personality in Cyprus. They are indeed present in most of the other contemporaneous sanctuaries of the god in the island, especially in those of the Mesaoria plain. This region, lying between the Troodos massif and the Pentadaktylos range, can be recognized as a centre of the Cypriote cult of Apollo. By the end of the 4th century BC, the worship of the divinity can be identified in at least eight sites. The god is mainly attested by some dedications discovered in sacred places, such as: Golgoi-Ayios *Phôtios* (Masson 1983, 286–299), Idalion-Mouti

tou Arvili (Masson 1983, 246–248), Tamassos-*Frangissa* (Masson 1983, 224–228), Chytroi-*Skali* (Egetmeyer 2010, 822) and certainly Lefkoniko-*Ayia Zoni* (Egetmeyer 2010, 687–688). The sculpture is another key element to detect the presence of Apollo who is indeed represented mostly following the Hellenic aesthetic canon in Tamassos-*Politiko* (Fig. 5), Malloura (Fig. 6) and probably at Potamia-*Ellines* as a lyre-player (Karageorghis 1979, 301 & 313).



Figure 3: Two-horse chariot or *biga* from Kourion (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 222).



Figure 4: Temple-boy from Kourion (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 230).

Although Apollo possesses some common characteristics in the Mesaoria and in Kourion, his worship and iconography also present some distinctive features. The focus of this paper then, is on three main sites which perfectly illustrate the essence and the components of the cult of Apollo in this region: Idalion-*Mouti tou Arvili*, Tamassos-*Frangissa* and Golgoi-*Ayios Phôtios*. The physical features of those three *temenoi* are very similar and they belong to the group of Cypriote archaic sanctuaries. The sacred area was frequently an open-air space delimited by a *peribolos* wall. The ritual was held around the altar and the image of the god, a baetyl or an anthropomorphic statue. The place of worship was composed of one or several open courtyards around which structures such as temples or chapels could have been

arranged. In such case, these structures presented a rudimentary architecture: the foundations were made of cemented rubble and river stones and the walls were built of perishable material like mudbrick, strengthened by wooden pillars. Eventually, the roof was made of vegetal branches or tiles with a wooden framework (Reyes 1994, 28–32). Those architectural specificities explain why there are so few remains of such sites from this era and why it is also difficult to reconstruct and analyse them.

In these three sanctuaries, the religious activity was affirmed since the Cypro-Archaic period and the evolution of the divinity is very similar: a local cult to which the surrounding Phoenician community adjusted, was then hellenised in the particular ideological context during the Cypro-Classical epoch. A bilingual dedication in Phoenician and Cypro-Syllabic characters from Idalion mentions Reshef Mikal assimilated to Apollo Amyklos in the syllabary (Masson 1983, 246–248). It is important to underline the fact that the dedicator is of Semitic origin as it shown by his name, prince Baalrôm, and the dating system he used: the fourth year of the reign of Milkyaton, king of Kition and Idalion. This element allows to date to this inscription to 388 BC (Sznycer 2004, 94). The interpretation of the epiclesis of Apollo remains uncertain. First, it should be explained that *Amyklos* is the Hellenised translation of *Mikal* and not the opposite according to O. Masson (Masson 1983, 248). Consequently, the hypothesis stating that the cult of the Apollo Amyklaïos from Laconia would have been adopted by the Phoenician community of Idalion has to be ruled out (Egetmeyer 2010, 248). This argument was one of the basic arguments in favour of the Peloponnesian origin of the Achaeans who colonised Cyprus during the Bronze Age (Masson 1983, 248). Moreover, Apollo Amyklaïos is very well attested in central Greece but not before the 8th century BC, which then makes it difficult to attribute the establishment of this cult to the Achaeans. Furthermore, no tangible evidence confirms existence of some contact between Amyklaï and the Orient during neither the Mycenaean era nor historical periods (Georgoulaki 1994, 111–112). *Mikal* was known in the Levant since the Late Bronze Age, his name has already been mentioned on a stele from Beth Shan dating back to the 15th century BC (Masson 1983, 248). Likewise, the divinity was quite popular among the Phoenicians in Cyprus as it is shown by several inscriptions from Kition (Yon 1986, 139). The epithet *Amyklos* is the Greek equivalent of a Semitic divinity resulting from an overall Hellenisation of the island, including the insular Phoenician community (Masson 1983, 248). I agree with this statement and I think that, during the Cypro-Classical period, the Phoenicians from Idalion adopted a local cult which was established around the beginning of the first millennium BC. Before the 5th

century BC, no theonym appeared on the few known dedications from the *Mouti tou Arvili* sanctuary. Then, after the conquering of Idalion around 470–450 BC (Sznycer 2004, 94), the Phoenician domination manifested in several dedications in Semitic language addressed to Reshef Mikal (Caquot & Masson 1968, 306). Before, the male divinity worshipped at Idalion was not clearly named. This local god, equivalent of the *teo* of Kourion, was perfectly known by the surrounding population that did not need to specify his identity. When the people from the Levant came, they identified this god with their Reshef Mikal, certainly because of their essential similarities. Finally, during the 4th century BC, this cult was Hellenised resulting in the emergence of the divine figure of Apollo Amyklos.



Figure 5: Head of Apollo “Chatsworth” from Tamassos-Politiko © Trustees of the British Museum.

An analogous and contemporary phenomenon can be observed in the neighbour city-kingdom of Tamassos. Indeed, several inscriptions were unearthed during the excavations led by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the sanctuary located in the valley of *Frangissa*, on the right bank of the *Argaki tis Asproyis* torrent (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 6–10). The two main dedications were very similar to the one from Idalion-*Mouti tou Arvili* previously analysed. The oldest one, carved on a marble

pedestal, is also bilingual, composed of a Semitic part and another one in the Cypro-Syllabic script. The dedicator, named 'Abdasôm, is Phoenician and the dating system based on the reign of the king of Kition and Idalion, which allows to date back this text to 375 BC (Masson 1983, 227). This offering was addressed to the oriental god Reshef 'lhyts whose equivalent in the Cypriote Syllabary version is Apollo Alasiôtas. This time, the epithet of Reshef is the obvious translation of the Cypro-Greek one. Furthermore, the uniqueness of this inscription consists in the only known occurrence of the epiclesis *Alasiôtas* which is clearly defining Apollo as the "god of Alasia" (Masson 1983, 227–228). The "land of Alasia", renowned for its copper resources, appears on the cuneiform tablets from Tell el-Amarna (Egypt). Those documents record the diplomatic correspondence between the Pharaohs and the significant foreign courts during the Late Bronze Age (Kitchen 2009, 4–5). It is quite certain that Alasia was the name of Cyprus or, at least, an important site where copper was exploited at that time (Kitchen 2009, 6–7). Therefore, it is quite clear that *Alasiôtas* refers to the ancestral masculine divinity of Cyprus which has been assimilated with Apollo during the Cypro-Classical period. Before, when the Phoenicians arrived in the region of Tamassos, they recognised their Reshef in this "Great God".

The second bilingual inscription from Tamassos-*Frangissa* is also very similar to those previously mentioned. It contains two different texts, one in Phoenician script and the other in local Cypriote syllabary, carved on a marble pedestal. The worshipper, named Menahem is of a Semitic origin and he used the dating system referring to the 30th year of the reign of Milkaton, the king of Kition and Idalion. Thanks to those details, this document can firmly be dated to 362 BC (Masson 1983, 225). This dedication was made to Reshef 'lhyt who is assimilated in the syllabic part to Apollo Heleitas, an epiclesis which is a hapax legomenon. Once again, it is the epithet of Reshef that appears as a translation and adaptation of the original *Heleitas* (Masson 1983, 226). The meaning of this divine name is still uncertain and several theories have been proposed. Some scholars argued that *Heleitas* could have derived from a toponym Helos in Laconia, further introduced to Cyprus by the Greek coming from this region (Masson 1983, 226). However, likewise in case of the hypothesis that *Heleitas* can be related to a local Helos, near Tamassos, the evidence found is insufficient to testify those suppositions (Masson 1983, 226; Egetmeyer 2010, 282–283). *Heleitas* is rather connected with the divinities defined as *Heleios/Heleia* or ἐν ἑλαι referring to marshes located nearby their sanctuaries (Masson 1983, 226). I am therefore inclined to say that this reasoning is the most likely

explanation of the essence of the divinity from Tamassos. Indeed, the *temenos* was founded next to the *Argaki tis Asproyis* torrent even though no mention in the ancient literary sources concerning fens in *Frangissa* is known. There is no doubt that the ground was certainly very humid, even unstable and it required some draining works to establish the sacred area. This kind of adjustments could have only been undertaken under the aegis of *Heleitas*, a god making any place suitable for the man. Likewise, the river was of a great importance considering the cult as is shown by one of the main altars found *in situ*, on the right bank of the stream, during the excavations of the site (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, VI). It is known that in Cyprus, during the winter, heavy rainstorms may occur, increasing the flow rate of the rivers causing in this way a seasonal flood (Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 46). That is why different rituals and offerings were certainly aimed at calming the torrent and its potentially destructive force. These two characteristics justify the choice of Apollo to be assimilated with the original god of *Frangissa*. He was considered as a purifier and *archegetis* divinity who had the ability to cleanse any territory allowing the human civilisation to be established (Detienne 1990, 303–306). Moreover, such deities (including Apollo) were capable of using their power for negative purposes, causing a rise of the water level having diverted the course of a river for example (Mazoyer 2003, 131). The association of Apollo with the local *Heleitas* in the Hellenisation context of the Cypro-Classical period then takes on its full meaning.

The bilingual inscriptions from *Idalion-Mouti tou Arvili* and *Tamassos-Frangissa* also underline the significance of the local tradition and the autochthonous religion. Different epithets of Apollo in those sanctuaries clearly remind of the original essence of the god and his cult. The name of the divinity itself highlights this phenomenon in the dedication addressed to *Heleitas* from *Frangissa*. In the cypro-syllabic part, *Apollo* was transcribed as *Απειλων* that is another hapax legomenon according to O. Masson, which could be an equivalent of the western form *Ἀέλλων* (Masson 1983, 226). It may refer to the original name of Apollo based on the Dorian *ἀπέλλα*, meaning “sheepfold” or “assembly” in the northwestern part of the Peloponnese where he was first worshipped as a pastoral god (Graf 2009, 104–113). The fact that those divine names survived until the 4th century BC is another example of the so-called “Cypriot conservatism”: this persistent fidelity to the traditions that can be noticed in various fields of the history and the culture of Cyprus (Masson 1973, 119).



Figure 6: Apollo as a kithara-player from Malloura (Caubet, Hermary & Karageorghis 1992, 133).



Figure 7: Votive relief dedicated to Apollo from Golgoi-Ayios *Phôtios* (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 257).



Figure 8: Votive relief depicting Apollo from Golgoi-Ayios *Phôtios* (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 221).

The examples of the Apollo Amyklos of Idalion, the *Alasiôtas* and

the *Heleitas* of Tamassos put emphasis on the political, ideological and religious purposes of the Phoenicians in this region. Indeed, those bilingual dedications have all been made by the members of the royal family and the local Phoenician aristocracy (Yon 2004, 124). The offerings in form of the pedestals made of fine marble, which was a rare and expensive material to import, in those popular rural and extra-urban sanctuaries, aimed to materialise the ambitions of the Kitian kings. They obviously wanted to honour their god but through associating the Cypro-Greek Apollo and using the local syllabary, they also wanted to legitimise themselves among the autochthonous population. Owing to the support of their Persian ally, the city-kingdom of Kition extended to the North-West in two steps: first by the conquest of Idalion around 470–450 BC then, by the acquisition of the city-kingdom of Tamassos together with its numerous copper resources during the mid-4th century BC (Yon 2004, 121). Hence, the Phoenician sovereigns possessed a major political power and economical potential with the copper mines of Tamassos to exploit, a production centre (Idalion) and a profitable harbour located in Kition. However, the success of this undertaking was determined by the good will of the indigenous inhabitants and their centuries-old savoir-faire. While the Semitic script was restricted to the royal administration use, the majority of the people were using the Cypriote dialect. By making those bilingual dedications, the Phoenician aristocracy aimed to make them understandable for the local Greek speaking population (Yon 2004, 124). Beyond the importance of the cult itself, the purpose of all those actions was to legitimise the new power and the religion was an essential medium.

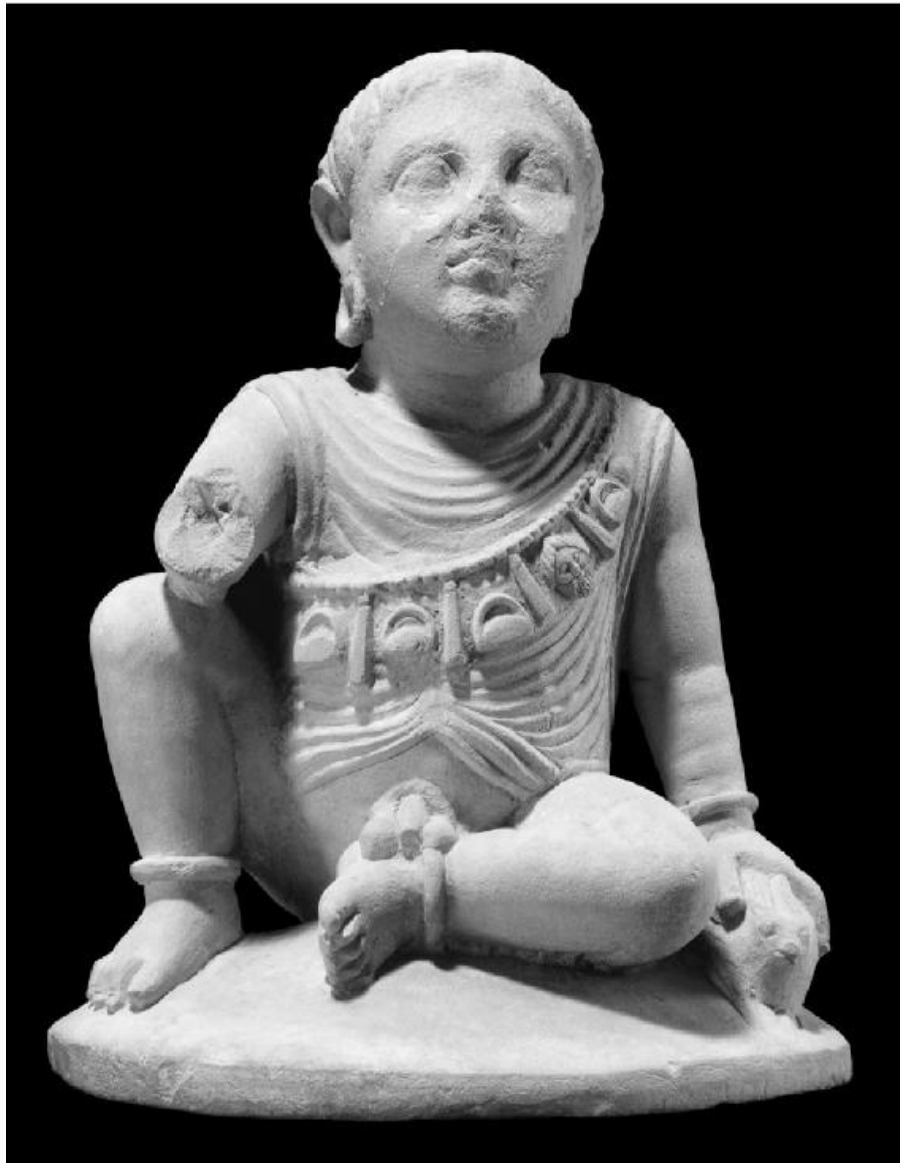


Figure 9: Temple-boy from Idalion-Mouti tou Arvili © Trustees of the British Museum.

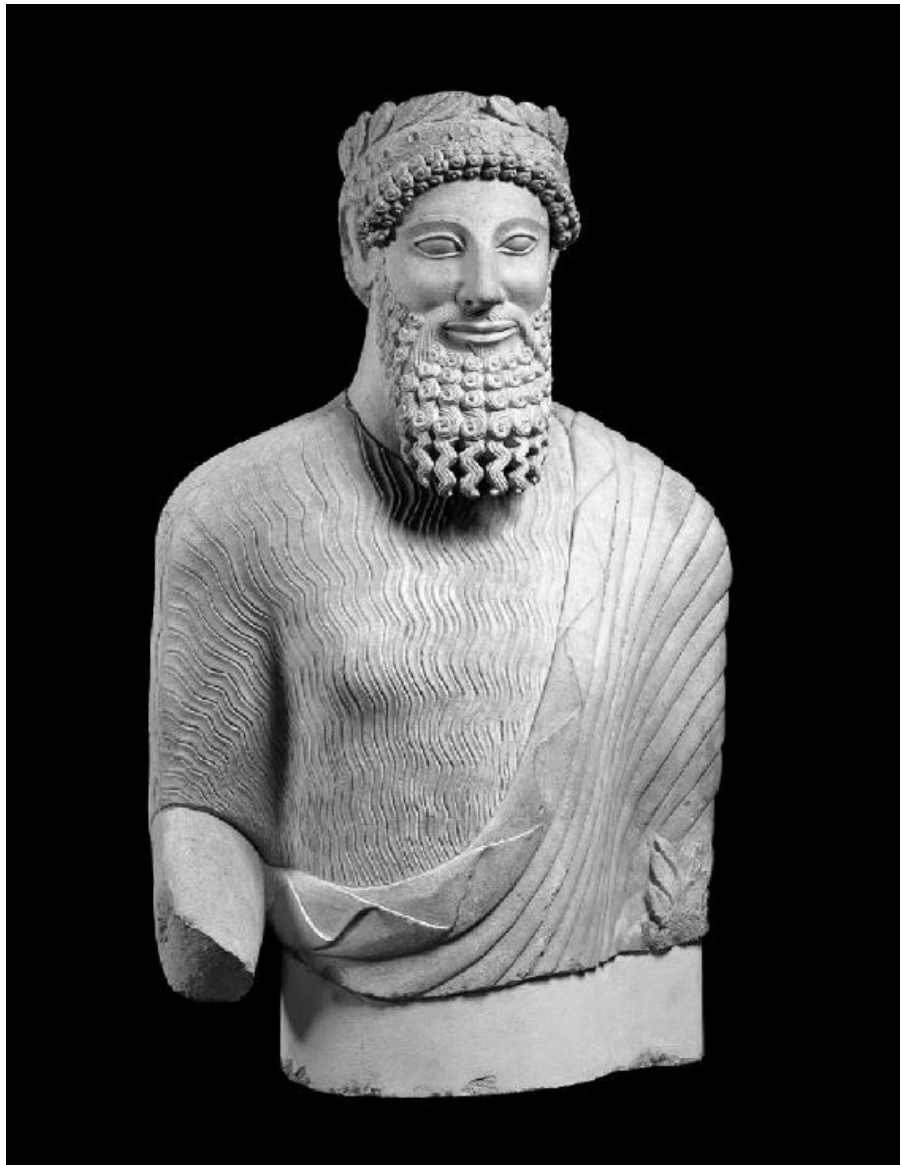


Figure 10: Chest of a bearded man from Idalion-Mouti tou Arvili © Trustees of the British Museum.

A comparable phenomenon to Idalion and Tamassos can be observed at Golgoi-Ayios Phôtios where a masculine cult was attested since the archaic times. This site is one of the major *temenos* of Apollo in Cyprus where numerous dedications to the god dating to the Cypro-Classical period were discovered (Masson 1983, 283 ff.). Those inscriptions are mainly engraved on some votive reliefs made by the local, specialised sculptors who were under the strong influence of the Hellenic art (Karageorghis 2000, 255). It is important to underline the

fact that, once again, Apollo seems to have been assimilated with an ancestral god designated simply as *teo* in some of the contemporary texts of *Ayios Phôtios* (Masson 1983, 288–289). Since the 4th century BC, Apollo was considered as the main divinity of the sanctuary yet various influences can be noticed in his iconography. One of the reliefs depicts a bearded god, sitting on a throne and holding a sceptre in his left hand, facing a worshippers cortege (Fig. 7). In general, this kind of divine personification is rather related to Zeus. According to M. Yon, since this representation of Apollo at Golgoi is parallel to the Semitic Reshef, it could therefore be a “Cypro-Phoenician Reshef/Apollo” (Yon 1986, 143). Another similar sculpture pierced twice in the upper part shows that those reliefs were hung on the walls of the temple (Karageorghis 2000, 255–256). It presents the god with some Cypro-Greek characteristics (Fig. 8). Apollo is indeed represented as a beardless kithara-player with a vegetal crown, wearing clothes whose rendering is clearly inspired of the Greek aesthetic canons (Karageorghis 2000, 252). To summarize, the general context of Hellenisation that took place in the Cypro-Classical period led to the assimilation of the archaic *teo* with Apollo due to their essential similarities. The local origins of the god and his cult remain present, which is attested in his particular epithets. The multicultural population of Cyprus is then worshiped this Cypriote Apollo which caused the emergence of some Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician cult features.

Finally, it is also possible to define the Mesaoria region as an Apolline cult centre because of the homogeneity of the votive material from the different *temenoi* of the god. Besides the temple-boys, well attested in the majority of those sites (Fig. 9), the votive sculptures of bearded (Figs. 10 & 11) and beardless (Fig. 12) males are typical of the worship of Apollo in this region. Those offerings are most frequently wearing a vegetal crown composed of one or several plants with the Apolline laurel as the most recurrent one. They all possess some medicinal attributes, which aim to appeal to the curative power of the god (Vernet 2012, 254–255). Likewise, I think that those components related to flora can be divided in two categories: the springtime ones (laurel, myrtle) and the autumnal ones (ivy, narcissus, acorns). They could have been offered to Apollo during some specific ceremonies during these two essential seasons of the natural cycle. Those rituals could have been held in order to invoke the regenerative force of the divinity for the renewal and the fertility of the vegetation and the farming (Vernet 2014, forthcoming). Those conditions were essential for the daily life and the economic prosperity of the ancient Cypriots. It is true that the Mediterranean climate of Cyprus is inextricably linked to seasonal drought which has a harmful impact on

the wildlife (Hermay 1989, 112). Under the aegis of Apollo, some religious festivities celebrated the splendour and the vitality of the vegetation during the spring to ensure that it will “reborn” with the same energy after the summer. These ceremonies probably took place during the month of *Daukhnaphorios* that appears on a 5th century BC broken inscribed tablet from Lefkoniko (Egetmeyer 2010, 687–688). *Daukhnaphorios* was certainly the epiclesis of Apollo used in the sanctuary of Lefkoniko *Ayia-Zoni*. It is the local form of *Daphnephoros* (Laurel-Bearer), a well-known epithet of the god in Greece (Masson 1983, 312). *Daukhnaphorios* remained related to the month during which the rituals aiming to ensure the renewal of the vegetation were celebrated. This period was then named after the original theonym as it was the case in Sparta where the Hyakinthia, celebrated in honour of Apollo Hyakinthos, for the same reasons as above-mentioned, took place during the month of Hyakinthios (Pettersson 1992, 10).

The Apolline coastal sanctuaries

During the Cypro-Classical period, the cult of Apollo rapidly expanded and throughout the island, proving its increasing popularity. On the northwestern coast of Cyprus, the presence of Apollo is attested by a 5th century BC dedication from the *temenos* of Mersinaki-*Ayia Varvara* (Masson 1983, 216–217). The site was destroyed during the early Roman period in order to construct a domestic structure, however, the votive material was ritually buried *in situ* in eight *bothroi* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 396–398). These offerings clearly show that the god was mainly worshipped as a protector of the men, especially the children represented by some temple-boys (Beer 1993, 65–66). At Mersinaki, Apollo was also invoked to obtain the renewal and the fertility of the human community and the natural world. This phenomenon is reflected in the beardless and bearded male statues usually wearing crowns made of different plants (Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 350 *ff.*).

The cult of Apollo also emerged at Pyla, near the southeastern coast of Cyprus. Little is known about this sanctuary excavated in 1868 by R. H. Lang who did not record its precise location. Some of the artefacts from this site are lost and the others have been scattered in different museums, which explain the limited knowledge about this corpus (Masson 1966, 12–14). Nonetheless, some dedications show that, during the 4th century BC, the god was assimilated with the local patron of the butcher-sacrificer and became Apollo Magirios (Masson 1983, 302–304). So far, a divine epithet related to this function is the only one known and, some unique representations of *mageiroi* were dedicated at Pyla (Fig. 13). This role perfectly matched the personality

of Apollo and his particular taste for the meat, the blood and the *makhaira*, the sacrificial knife, led Aristophanes to define the god as the “Prince of the *mageiroi*” (Detienne 1986, 9).

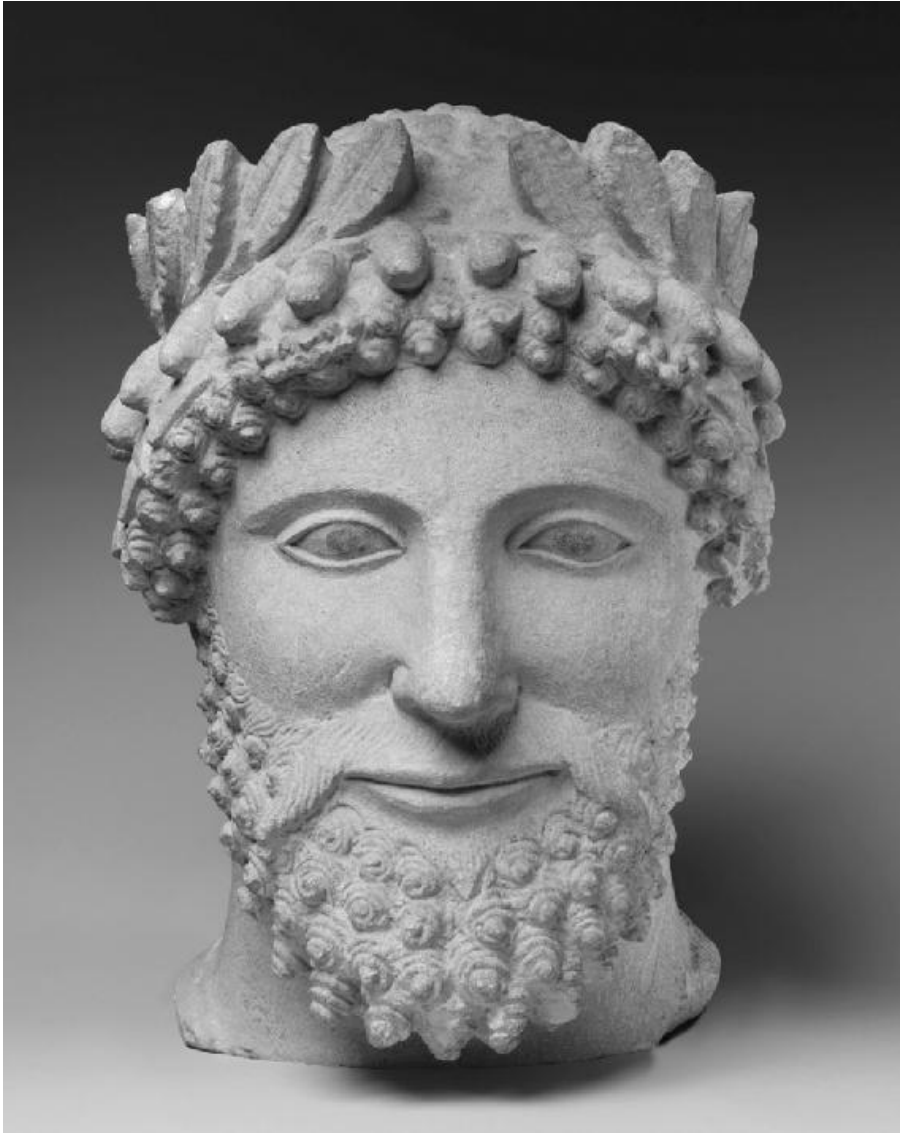


Figure 11: Head of a bearded man from Golgoi-Ayios Phôtios (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 211).



Figure 12: Head of a beardless man from *Golgoi-Ayios Phôtios* (Karageorghis, Mertens, Rose 2000, 210).



Figure 13: Statue of a *mageiros* from Pyla © Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art

Apollo possessed an important sanctuary in the new city founded by Nikokles at the end of the Cypro-Classical period, Nea Paphos. Two

inscriptions in the Late Paphian Syllabary found *in situ* show that Apollo Hylates was the tutelary divinity in this rupestrian underground place of worship (Masson 1983, 96–99). *Hylates* is the Cypriote god *par excellence*, Lycophron even described Cyprus as the “land of *Hylates*” (*Alexandra*, 448). He ensured the protection and the fertility of the wildlife and it is apparent that he was assimilated with Apollo during the 4th century BC. The god was also worshipped at Dhrymou, Chytroi-Skali and in his original *temenos* at Kourion (Vernet 2014, in press). The location of the sanctuary of Nea Paphos-Alonia tou Episkopou, in an ancient necropolis area, and its particular architecture certainly connect the divinity with some chthonic deities (Młynarczyk 1990, 78). It is true that the chthonian nature of the god has been discussed in the cultic context of Kourion, especially because of his relation with the snake (Vernet 2012, 261–262). The cultic nature of Apollo Hylates in the hypogeum of Nea Paphos was certainly associated to some oracular practices inspired by the subterranean forces (Młynarczyk 1990, 78; Balandier & Vernet 2014, in press). I also think that, in this sacred place, the divinity could have been related to a mystery cult involving the regeneration and the “rebirth”. The initiation of Apollo Hylates, as the Master of the chthonic forces, could have provoked the symbolical death of a man who is then enlightened in order to free him of his fears. Once the different steps of the ritual had been accomplished, he would be born again with a higher state of consciousness, regenerated and filled with a new serenity (Vernet 2014, forthcoming).

Thus, during the Cypro-Classical period, Apollo emerged in Cyprus where he was mainly assimilated with a pre-existent ancestral god because of their common characteristics. The divinity was essentially invoked as a protector of the men, ensuring their revival and their personal and social accomplishment. The Cypriote Apollo was also deeply connected to the regeneration and the fertility of the nature. Those religious features explain why the cult of Apollo, who became the main male god of Cyprus at the end of the 4th century BC, immediately gained popularity.

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Human bondage. The ultimate changes in the social status of *parici* in Venetian Cyprus (1560–1571)

Katerina V. Korrè

A glance at the bibliography concerning social classes in Venetian Cyprus reveals terms such as *villain* (deriving from the Latin *villa*), *serf* (*servus* in Latin) and *peasant* (the original Latin term *pagus* referred to an administrative district). All these terms usually tend to describe the tenant farmer who was attached to the land he cultivated for the benefit of the *seigneur* or the *crown* (state). We can also include the word *parico* (from the Greek *πάροικος*), which is attributed mainly to the dependent peasant of the Byzantine period but was still in use by the Venetian authorities. All the above terms are used more or less without any distinction, although born in different historical contexts, and reflecting attempts to describe aspects of a specific social status. The *serf* refers to the absence of self-determination, that otherwise characterises a slave, while *peasant* connects the person to agricultural work and *villain* focuses on his attachment to the land. Moreover, a *parico* was a dependant land tenant, whose only resemblance to the one that existed during the Byzantine period was that he gradually gained ability to disentangle himself and his future descendants from this unfavourable condition (Karayannopoulos 1981, 231–232).

In 16th century Cyprus, the dependant peasants, *villani* or *parici*, occupied the social space between the free peasants, *contadini* or *francomati*, and the slaves. It is documented that the exploitation they confronted practically transformed them into slaves, although serfdom -at least in Venetian possessions on the Italian peninsula-had been abolished since the 12th century. Nevertheless, the villain social class in Cyprus was initially left unchanged by Venice, as it was inherited from the previous Frankish regime, mainly because it served in keeping the local agricultural production stable (Dobb 2010, 52). Even after a long process of ameliorative measures taken by the Venetian state, the social category of the *parici* retained its main characteristic,

which was the limited legal capacity, particularly restricted as far as the economic field was concerned. At the same time, various conditions of dependence were imposed upon the *contadini* in general (Grivaud 1998, 361).

The rich Venetian documentation contains much information about the Cypriot *parici* and is often critical of the Venetian policies. During the last decades before the fall of the island to the Turks and as the existing Frankish-originated or Venetian feudal lords were opposing their ultimate strength on behalf of the remains of the feudal system, the Venetian state was forced to acknowledge some rights to its *parici*, as long as these rights didn't affect the agricultural production of the island. Indeed, at that time Venice totally changed their legal position without eliminating, however, the economic implications of the servile status and thus failed to restrain the resentment and even rebellious actions before the Turkish attack.

As the state of poverty was creating various bondages against the individual's freedom, serfdom or villeinage was the immediate result of extreme poverty (Bonnaissié, 1991, *passim*). We have to observe that, while there are exhaustive studies regarding slavery on the Mediterranean coasts, the Cypriot *parici* haven't yet received the proper, complete attention they deserve (Παπαδία-Λάλα 1998, 96). Much is yet to be done in describing the symptoms of the economic recession, the agrarian revolts, government disputes and the growing polarity between the peasants on the one hand and the nobles as well as the church, on the other (Arbel 1984, 183; Grivaud 1986, 260; Otten-Froux 1988, 331–360; Arbel 1998, 351–360). Equally unexamined remain the changing attitudes or the stereotypes of the different social classes, the peasants' desires, the penetrable and impenetrable points of formal and informal ideologies expressed by representatives of the state and the traces of these elements in folklore. Up to now we have dealt with these issues as isolated episodes of the periphery, taking into account the superficial interpretation that Cyprus is too far away to be part of the European historic frame.

It is true that the *white noise* of the people bound up with the bondage of villein serfdom does not easily reach the doorstep of written history. Nevertheless, *the intense ascension of misery* of the lower social classes was a European phenomenon at the end of the 16th century, which bore social changes (Braudel, 2002, 441). Cyprus shared that fate, being a Venetian colony at the very fringe of European borders. There had also been turmoil on the island but the social changes that could have been accomplished on behalf of the *parici* were left uncompleted as the process was evolving gradually and was finally interrupted by the Turkish invasion. Furthermore, we

have to bear in mind that in Cyprus, the two long lasting layers of experienced authority, the Byzantine and the Frankish, determined, to a significant degree, the course of Venetian control as well as the social consent: the dominant kept, among the various given characteristics of the existing institutions, those which were of self-interest and to the social classes who were accustomed to them. Thus, since the merchandise revolution – that Venice was otherwise leading – did not change the heart of the feudal production system on the island, and the position of the *parici* remained practically unchanged.

According to the Venetian government officials, around the first half of the Venetian occupation of Cyprus (1550), the *parici* of the *Real* numbered up to 30,000, the one third of which was burdened with some type of forced labour (*delli quali ne sono da angario nove in diece millia*). The majority of them were Greek Orthodox. The exploitation of their labour and the oppression they were facing during the Frankish period, as well as the Venetian that followed, meant a life in desperation, which made them desire not the Turks but the devil himself (*in tal desperatione, che non Turchi, ma il diavolo desiderano*).¹

In the field of applied governance, Venice changed many of the characteristics of the former feudal system. Eventually, the state of *parici* was affected by these changes, which, however, did not result in controlling the landlords efficiently. The obvious reason of these “flabby” measures was that, apart from their masters, the state gained a lot from these workers as well. First of all, the local Venetian authorities collected large sums of money from taxes; secondly, they enjoyed personal workforce in public tasks or the *parici*’s agricultural labour at the public lands. The *parici* could also be sold or rented by private landholders along with the land. Venice was collecting up to 500,000 ducats a year from ordinary and extraordinary taxes and from the rents taken from the feuds. These taxes were the heaviest compared to all other Mediterranean colonies. The total gain from the resale of the products, the investments and, generally, the economic exploitation of Cyprus’ land was one million ducats per year for the Venetian state and 90,000 for the Catholic Church (Αριστείδου 1990, 98–99).

The government officials revealed a greater fear: the *parici* of Cyprus were too many to confront and their attitude towards Venice was not always obedient or even friendly (Arbel 1984, 205–207). The nobles provided the force and the means to control them. *Venetians, being the masters of the island, they left the lords’ tyranny uncontrolled, for sake of their fear of rebellion*, attests archimandrite Cyprianus (Κυπριανός 1971, 404–5). The newcomers didn’t avoid extensive villein revolts, exactly as the preceding Frankish regime of the Lusignans had faced (1426–7). It took them a year of struggle and

hard conflicts in the island's countryside to put down the rebels (Irwing 1995, 176).

The strongest argument in favour of the preservation of the Frankish feudal system was Cyprus' role in the Venetian economic and political system. The island was a remote colony destined to play the role of a producer of wheat, cereal, oats, sugar and salt. Venice confiscated the island's production several times, in order to cover the metropolis' needs, even if that practise meant that the sustenance of the inhabitants was being put in jeopardy. This was especially true during years of diminished crops when the endurance of the Cypriots was strained to the limit (Αριστείδου 1998, 378; Ντόκος 2002, 211).

Although the Venetian sources rarely give detailed information about their living standard (Arbel 1984, 192, 207), the *parici* were leading a life of misery, confined to the socio-political margin. They knew from birth that they were at their lords' disposition from the age of 15 until their 60s, to be treated as they pleased (Grivaud 1986, 260). Lacking any actual public control, the landlord had the potential to punish a *parico* till neardeath, lend or rent him along with the land he was cultivating, exchange him with falcons or hunting dogs-exactly as if he was a mobile asset of his landholdings (Αριστείδου 1998, 374-375). Wealthy locals, Franks or Venetian colonists, tried to maximise their earnings in the period they possessed the land and its *parici*. Every *parico* had to attribute 1/3 of the crop to the landowner – sometimes more than that – and to work three times a week for the latter for free, unless he could afford to give 15 *bizanti*. Raising this sum of money wasn't easy since, apart from the taxes, he had neither the time nor the economic assets to dedicate to the production itself: his cattle was taken to work by the landlord without a fee while he had to pay for using the mill or for threshing in the village that was at the landowner's possession (Balard 1995, 512). The crop production levels were everything but stable, if we take under serious consideration factors such as extreme weather conditions, epidemics, infestation of locusts or enemy attacks. Sometimes the crop was barely enough to feed the *parico* and his family. And that was not all. He had to pay a head-tax about 6 and 1/3 *bizanti*, sometimes a fixed payment for the assignment of public land and to work as coastguard or in public works. The latter kept him away from his fields during summer and winter, when most of the agricultural work needed to be done. He could exchange all these duties for money, something rather unlikely to happen on a yearly basis (Πλουμίδης 1974, 53).

A *parico* legally possessed nothing and had no personal rights or liberties. All property was lent to him by the landowner. Participation in the *People's Council of Nicosia* (*Consiglio del popolo menudo de Nicosia*), an urban assembly unique in the Venetian world, excluded

the island's rural population (Παπαδία-Λάλα 2004, 152). He couldn't travel by boat without written permission of the local governor (*rettore*), he couldn't trade; for example, if he casually sold fruits from his harvest to someone passing, he had to attribute a certain tax to the state. He couldn't marry without his master's or the authorities' (*reggimento*) permission.² If he fell sick, he had to compensate the landlord for the days of his absence. He had to pay tax for having animals in his possession, which, along with his working equipment (carriage, tools), furniture (*i.e.* bed, chairs) and personal belongings (clothes, tangible household goods) were taken by the state authorities for auction when he died. When the posthumous auction (*zaeta*) was over, nothing was left for their families who often had to live like beggars in order to survive. Except for the landlord, his representatives and the often corrupted Venetian officers, a *parico* had to face money-lenders, merchants and invaders of any kind. Luckily, he wasn't forced to go to war, unless it was inevitable (Cobham Delaval 1969, 55). He was lucky if his master would consent to give him his freedom as every lord had the right to set free four serfs during his lifetime (Αρσιτέιδου 1990, 94).

Of course, there were differences in the villein burdens. These differences were dictated by working capacity: beginning from the age of 45, the sums of the production that ought to be contributed to the landowner varied from the 30% to 40% of the crop. The days of compulsory work varied as well. Another criterion was the location of the villein: in the mountains where there were pastures, vineyards and fruit trees, the contribution was less than 35% and the villein needed to work for his lord only 52 days a year; whereas in the countryside he paid the full debt and was forced to work 104 days. Finally, villeins known as *mistarghi* were not attached to specific land and were compelled to work wherever and whenever their lords wanted (Πλουμίδης 1987, 82).

From the majority of the legal burdens – and usually from the illegal ones also – no *parico* could escape since Venice had taken good care to form detailed books concerning every village of the island. There was the *practikon*, a register where all the public *parici* were recorded and another register for those who were depended on the private feuds (Arbel 1984, 190). We know that in 1566 there were 38 villages belonging to noble-landlords and the relevant book was kept by the rector Francesco Bembo.³ There was also the provision for a 4-year census, but this measure does not seem to have being carried out accordingly (Πλουμίδης 1974, 154–155).

In the Venetian State Archives (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*) we find the correspondence of the officials sent to Cyprus, who, even when they admit to the miserable life of a *parico*, at the same time they

justify the situation using arguments taken from the slavery system of the ancient Greek states (Πλουμίδης 1974, 52). It is true that the taxes and other aggravations imposed on Cypriots tested the obedience of the lower social classes. In order to control the opposition threat, Venice usually responded by appointing two inspectors (*auditori*) to check for evidence of the abuse of the *parici*.

Being in this unsupportable position, a *parico* would try everything to get rid of taxes, burdens and forced labour. During the first years of the Venetian occupation of Cyprus, it was possible for him to overbid for the posts of a village priest or a juror (*giurato*) but Venice eventually annulled this law. Some villeins managed to become monks, before the officials found out their true origin. Very few could buy their freedom by paying the 50, 70 or 100 ducats needed for enriching the public treasury – a sum unlikely to be gathered for their manumission (*chirafetisis*).⁴ Even for those who finally collected the amount of money needed, an objection which could be raised by their lord or an irregularity in the procedure was more than enough to reverse the state decision and for them to stay in bondage for the rest of their life.

Many of the *parici* managed to escape despite the law of 1489 which threatened the ship captains who consented to take them on board without written permission with a jail sentence or loss of their licence.⁵ A common destination of the fugitives was the Ottoman coast, where they became Muslims and started a new life as free men.⁶ Some of them were extremely lucky: a former Cypriot *parico* who reached Crete and started his own merchant enterprise, became rich; at the time of his death, he had raised a fortune of 2,000 ducats (Grivaud 1998, 367–368). Another dangerous way to escape was to falsify documents pretending to be a free peasant (*francomato*). But the life of a *francomato* was not something they could really envy as it had its own burdens, taxes and hard work. Finally, some *parici* struggled to ensure at least a free life for their children. To do so, they left their babies before the doors of the Catholic cathedral of Nicosia, where the principals accepted it as a *found child* (ευρετό), that is, a child of unknown social origin (Αριστέιδου 1990, 109–110).

This mixture of injustice and inhuman treatment, fed by a strong belief of inequality, was sometimes too high for the Cypriot *parici* to endure. There were cases of violent outbursts. These sporadic episodes never reached the point of affecting the way things were carried out. However, especially after 1550, we can trace an escalation of the tension and frequency of these episodes. On the 27th of November 1561, the Senate was informed that after repeated cases of extreme violence showed by renders of *crown lands*, the *parici* were in turmoil. A revolt was more than possible.⁷ Some *parici* looted their lords'

possessions, assaulted and battered their bodyguards. The most extreme episodes took place in Lapithos, one of the biggest and wealthiest villages of the island at the district of Kerinia, which was a private feud (Arbel 1984, 204). The lords of the feud tortured the *parici* in order for them to perform much more than their customary duties and had recently forced some of them to marry contrary to their wishes or to give away their insignificant belongings:

*...cose inconvenienti et luntane dall'humana et christiana carità et in particolare, che dalli patroni d'i casali essi alcune volte sono vanduti o donati overo anco baratati in qualche animal irrationale. Che non contenti essi patroni di tenerli in coppi et batterli, usano alcune volte di tormentarli con modi illiciti et crudeli et che quantunque essi parici siano solamente obligati al maritarsi, di più sono contra al dover astretti a pigliar per forza più l'una moglie che l'altra. Et oltre a ciò che quando il parico capo di casa vien a morte, contra ogni equita si osserva che li bovi, carro, somier et altre sue robbe sono per conto di regalia levate alli figlioli sui.*⁸

The Venetian Senate ordered the island's *locotenente* to gather the complaints and to perform sudden checks on all feuds, both public and private, in order to detect mistreatments. If cases of forced marriage or torture were traced, the head of the colony was bound to press charges against the *patrone* of the suffered *parico*. Furthermore, the rectors of Pafos and Kerinia were given the authority to prosecute the suspects:

*Dobbiate ben avvertir et intender se ad essi poveri sudditi nostri sono fatti di quelli, over altri simili mali trattamenti o se essi vengono astretti a cose, alle quali per giustitia et per i ordini, Assizi, et antica consuetudine di quel Regno non siano tenuti. Et ritrovando che alcun di loro sia stato venduto o donato o baratato o sia stato tormentato come di sopra, overo che alcuno sia stato astretto a prender per forza moglie che non sia di sua satisfattione, debbiate far giustitia contra quello o quelli delli patroni ...*⁹

For the first time, this strict decision gave a voice to the *parici*, despite the difficulty of making an accusation against a powerful and influential nobleman, who had his own circle of people in high places and the means to avoid punishment. In fact, we do not even have a single name or the slightest circumstantial evidence that a landlord was accused for torture or inhuman behaviour as far as the relevant documents are concerned. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge the importance of the Venetian decision, which was repeated in the commission of the new *provveditor general and sindaco*, Zuan Matteo Bembo, a highrank official who was sent to examine the situation.

That decision was not taken in a vacuum. Exactly a decade before,

the Senate had made the first step in favour of the *parici* by transferring the jurisdiction from the feudal council – where they had no chance to be treated fairly –, to the state authorities (Richard 1995, 375–386).¹⁰ But this precious law had fallen into disuse since the *parici* could not actually (*in realtà*) exercise it. While the *provveditore et sindaco* Matteo Bembo was travelling towards the coasts of Cyprus, a number of episodes in the countryside occurred confirming the Senate's previous information: it was the free peasants' turn to rise in revolt, united with the *parici*. In an increasing number of episodes, they chased merchants, destroyed farms and estates, insulted landlords with the accusation that they were wandering about the island *dressed as kings and had a good time at their provocative, fancy feasts* (Grivaud 1998, 369–370).

Nevertheless, the real threat was elsewhere: documents existed proved the close contacts between the heads of the *parici* and the Turks of Constantinople. The Venetian *bailo* informed the central state authorities that several *parici* reached the Ottoman capital and were complaining to the sultan about their mistreatment by the Venetians:

fusseno angarizati più di quello che sono obligati... erano mal trattati con molte estorsioni et crudeltà che si ritrovanno in extrema calamità et desperation.

Furthermore, they were assuring the sultan that all Cypriot *parici* were ready to help him take over Cyprus (Lamansky 1968, 24).

Bembo tried to carry out his task, which was to follow the law; in other words, the two senatorial decisions of 1551 and 1561. He went about the island, interrogated people and even forced the town council of Nicosia to condemn the provocative appearance and life of the nobles (Παπαδία-Λάλα 2004, 145). However, not even one of the above accusations of mistreatment was proven to be true. Besides, these measures came too late and were too weak to change the situation. A year later, the revolt of Giacobus Diassorinos (Γιάκωβος Διασσωρηνός) erupted. Peasants, *parici* and other Cypriots took part in an organised attempt to hand over the island to the Turks, proclaiming, among others, that they were Greeks and they were not going to tolerate the schismatic (Catholic) Venetians any more. The Venetians succeeded in suppressing the revolution. But the desire for a change did not cease to exist (Grivaud 1998, 369–370; Παπαδία-Λάλα 2004, 155).

Was the tension described above a local phenomenon? Europe during the second half of the 16th century faced such types of aggression: peasant revolts, rebellions, increase of rural violence and vagrancy (Aymard 1982, 131–208). European communities were still based on land ownership. Serfdom had ended but there were other

forms of aggravation imposed on free peasants which usually included servile characteristics. There were still noble classes, rescued by the class of merchants who flirted with the idea of a noble-title. Beside them was a modern state like Venice that allowed *villages to be established according to the system of great landholders*, merely because these landholders were the state's confidants, creditors, officers, always eager and capable of controlling the peasant masses (Braudel 2002, 407–408).

This is the case with Friuli, a northern Venetian district which was the last part of Venetian *Terraferma* to abolish serfdom. Yet, even after the *masnada* (servitude), the social significance of the noblemen remained strong (Battistella 1906, 5–62). The first agrarian revolt, the *nobeli contra li villani*, took place in 1511, in the middle of an attempt of the Friuli noblemen to overthrow Venice, after the defeat of Agnadello.¹¹ The peasants burned down castles and murdered nobles of both parties. Facing a common danger, all noble parties united with the state forces and mercenaries and managed to put down the rebels. Venice reconsidered the situation and established the *contadinanza*, a “rural body” which became, in years to come, the official representative of the peasants’ interests.

Still in Friuli, at the end of the 16th century, minds were again in turmoil. According to the statement of a humble miller, the so-called *Menocchio*, in front of the frightening Sant’ Ufficio in 1570,

The poor peasants do not know how to read and write... the nobles are taking advantage of them with their lawyers in court. They speak Latin and we cannot understand a word; the priests take particular care to hold us obedient... (Ginsburg 1994, 47)

Menocchio, like the majority of the peasants of Venice, became familiar with the utopian ideas of a new world from books like *Uno mondo nuovo* (di A. Fr. Doni, 1522) or *Begola contra la Bizaria* (anonymous, 1550, Modena). These books were condemned as provocative even by Erasmus but played an important role in the latest peasant awakening (Olivieri 1981, 467–512; Stella 1969, 196–197; Hilton, 1974). These premature ideas of social justice might have reached Cyprus with considerable delay but they did (Grivaud 1996, 1109–1207; Cantimori 2002, 36, 390). However, we can only downplay their contribution to the Cypriot revolts since the majority of the island’s rural population was illiterate or wouldn’t have had the opportunity to be acquainted with them. Thus, the life and needs of the peasants in Friuli and Cyprus might have been practically similar, nevertheless their context was different and so was their fate. The Cypriot peasantry still had a long way to go towards emancipation, but the bondages imposed on them made the process more than

inevitable.

A strong reason for that delay must have been the underlying layer of beliefs which were asking for the *parico*'s consent and submission (Le Goff 1974, 76–94; Jakobson 1967, 223–40). In Cyprus, all institutions, written or customary, attuned the inhabitants towards the conservation of the feudal social model. The majority of the *parici* applications to the Venetian authorities invoked the *Assizes*, the constitutional map of Frankish feudalism of the Middle East and Cyprus, thus proving they didn't question its legal binding. In addition, a moral constraint was imposed on by the church: every *parico* had a duty, to work for his lord and the state.

Local tradition had its part in constructing consent. *Spanéas*, a well known didactic poem of the 12th century in spoken greek, had the chorus *our world has its lords and its servants*. The work of George Lapithes, a folk poet of the 14th century, spoke of respecting authority and the joy of doing one's duty. Finally, in a Frankish folklore discourse called *Dîme de Pénitance* (1288), the submission that a humble Christian owed to God was characterized as *tithe* (δεκάτη) a word well known from the fiscal obligations imposed on the agricultural production.

Either way, Venice had already decided to make things better for its agrarian subjects. We have witnessed the initial steps. After 1561 a decrease in the taxes for *parici* who worked more than 25 years was announced and total exemption for those aged more than 60 years was declared. Furthermore, the hereditary tax and the *zaeta* were abolished and hereditary rights to the *parici* descendants and relatives were acknowledged. Venice made a series of provisions for the poor: benefits for pregnant women, distribution of wheat in times of famine, blankets for cold winters and so on. Finally, the state annulled the jurisdiction of the feudal council as far as the *parici* was concerned.

On the other hand, the Cypriot peasants' resentment, of both *parici* and *francomati*, had never reached the point of a massive movement against the local government. Unfortunately, we do not have the testimony of a Cypriot peasant, like we do have the testimony of Menocchio, from 16th century Friuli. The only available documents concerning Cypriot *parici* are applications towards the Venetian Senate (*suppliche*) with complaints of unjust treatment. Most of them were submitted between the years 1565–1569 and provoked by the census made by Bernardo Sagredo, who had succeeded Matteo Bembo as *proveditore generale et sindaco di Cipro* (1562–3). Sagredo made extensive checks of the *prattichi* of every district. Having found that they were carelessly compiled and that many *parici* were characterised as free peasants (*francomati*) or were found to be absent, he reorganised the whole system. Thus, he managed to re-integrate many

of them, along with a considerable amount of money in the public treasury (*camera fiscal*) of the island (Mas Latrìe 1970, 551–3).

The fact remains that even after the meager efforts to improve living conditions of the *parici*, things got worse (Αριστείδου 1990, 103; Ντόκος 2002, 216). The local administration had decided to impose new strict measures on them because of a shortage of cash in the public treasury and the growing fear of defecting to the Turkish side in the case of an upcoming war.

This is the first time that we have evidence of a committee which traveled to Venice in order to speak on behalf of all Cypriot *parici*. Such an act gives an upgraded, constitutional significance to the social body of the *parici* and at the same time stands witness to a deep change of attitude which surely originated in the legal reforms of the previous two decades: the decision to claim their rights within the limits of the Venetian law. *Representatives of the seventy thousand parici of the island*, as they characterized themselves, reached Venice in August 1569 demanding a review of the measures taken by the island's rectors regarding nine new unbearable taxes. The representatives waited two whole months in the metropolis, without any money for lawyers or food and in total despair before they could be accepted at the *X Savi del Senato*, the magistracy qualified to discuss fiscal appeals (*Giudici d'Appello in materia fiscal*). The heads of the delegation commented in their *supplica* that these new measures were so unjust that the numbers of *parici* escaping from the island to the Turks were bigger than ever before:

...Noi poveri vostri parici e schiavi di vostra serenità semo sta ingiustamente disturbati dal nostro antichissimo viver et pacifico possesso dal tempo della bona memoria di serenissimi regali fino il tempo presente che è nasciuto un atto di quelli vostri clarissimi rettori contra di noi, per il qual ne fu posto, oltra la nostra solita parichia, altre nove insolite et insoportabil servitù et pagamenti, per li quali molti et assaissimi parici sonno fugiti via del'isola et cotidianamente si scampano in Turchia. [...] Cosa veramente amarissima...¹²

The hearing of the appeal never took place. Instead and facing the preparations of a Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the state proceeded in liberating a significant number of *parici*, starting from those of the village-feud of *Piero Singlitico* (*casal Aradippu*).¹³ Yet, all measures were again taken with significant delay.¹⁴ In fact, it is rather ironic that Marcantonio Bragadin, who was the last and tragic captain of Famagosta (*capitano di Famagosta*), had been released from his duties as one of the Dieci Savi exactly in 1569, before discussing the appeal of the *parici* delegation committee.

At this point, Venice was in terrible economic condition. With the

whole island under siege, the state decided, on July 2nd 1570, to set the entire colony's *parici* free in order to avoid massive desertions and gain more fighters (Grivaud 1998, 369). Neither was this measure effective. The Venetians saw entire villages of *parici* siding with the invading Turks.

The social gap among the rural population and the Venetian administration, along with its favored landholders or nobles, was rending apart the socio-political model in Cyprus, as it had already done in the European West (Braudel 2002, 467). The growing pressure for revenues in benefit of the state or individuals, *in the end, drove the labor force which supplied the system to exhaustion or literally to disappearance* (Dobb 2010, 53). The Venetian regime was falling in Cyprus and the whole system based upon the human bondage as well. The prolonged humiliating treatment of a social class forced into submission characterized by the endless drudgery and remedies based on an anachronistic sense of human life, resulted in seeing the only hope for change as that of getting rid of the old masters. In the *new world*, as Turks proclaimed, the *parici* would be equal in front of the *Grand Signor*, the sultan. They did not have to fear for their lives and for the lives of their beloved ones, their land or religion.

As predicted, that *new world* did not come. What indeed came was merely a different version of misery.

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The Venetian fabrics, their trade and use in Ottoman Cyprus: the list of fabrics

Iosif Hadjikyriakos

In this paper we present the preliminary results of our research on the role of Venetian fabrics in the 18th century society of Cyprus.¹ The aim of the research is to clarify on the trade volume of import fabrics from Venice and their social use within an intercultural society of Europeans and Ottomans. In the present state, we expose the results regarding the qualities of textiles imported in the island analysing the weaving materials and techniques.

The sources used, all unpublished, are derived from the archive of the Venetian consulate in Larnaca (*Consolato Veneto del Regno di Cirpo*, CVRC), conserved in the State Archives of Venice (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, ASVe). Focus has been placed upon the analysis of the official documents relating to imports (ASVe, CVRC Buste 12, 13, 14) and the documents of private interest: catalogues, ledgers, auctions, dowries and wills (ASVe, CVRC Buste 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). From these documents, information was obtained regarding qualities, quantities and prices of textiles, names of dealers, resellers and finally the wardrobes of individuals who possessed them.

It should be recalled that in the midpoint of the 18th century, Venice was in a political and economic depression: the state treasurer was in great difficulty, trade had suffered severe blows from the new trading powers, England and Holland, and Venetian products no longer met the criteria of competition (Caizzi 1965, 40–110). The same can be said for the textile industry that could not be competitive against the French and British productions. The only trade that continued throughout the critical eighteenth century, absorbing Venetian textiles, was that of the Eastern Mediterranean. The analysis of documents displayed with a considerable commercial mobility of fabrics from Venice to Cyprus as well as Egypt and Syria (ASVe, CVRC buste 12, 13, 14). This request may be based on the aesthetic and quality needs of the Ottomans, clearly different from those in Europe. Eastern conservative societies attached great value in quality as well

as to the origin of goods. The first guaranteed the long life of the products, the latter its social value as an imported good. An important role has the fashion of the period, always linked to the use of textiles: while in Europe the garments' aesthetics were changing quickly and the textile was used only as a coloristic and decorative support, in the Ottoman Empire, the conservative fashion required and was based on heavy fabrics with important decorations. The Venetian factories have failed to lighten the fabrics and were unable to quickly update the decorations, thus excluding European markets, while preserving those of the East. (Overview on the history of Venetian texture: Poli 2001; Davanzo Poli, Moronato 1994.)

Here below we present a list confined to all of the Venetian fabrics annotated in Cyprus, their names, weaving materials, costs and quantities, when that is possible, and some details, on garments sewn from them. The list form the first comprehensive data, that defines the commercial and aesthetic image of Larnaca during the 18th century linked with the Venetian artefacts.

List of Fabrics

A. *Silk fabrics*

– By silk, rarely wool, was the *amner* or *amoer*, a Venetian taffeta production of a plain weave that is characterized by a peculiar decoration (Davanzo Poli 1988, 346), known today as moiré, (Fig. 2). It was used, based on documents, for sewing ottoman taste coats like *curto*, *gombas* and *doliman*. In 1755, the merchant Pietro Vassallo carries 97 piks² of this fabric, while in 1762 the merchant Andrea Pelli imports into Cyprus 59 and 1/5 piks from Venice. We find two small pieces of Amner also in the ledger of the late Gian Carlo Mantovani in 1785.

– The *bellacosa* (Vitali 1992, 58) was another silk fabric produced in Venice and which we encounter in Larnaca. We have no details regarding this textile type; in the documents there is mentioned “a silk-made” product. Although not mentioned in the import documents (perhaps it is mentioned with another name, like *seta*, (Eng. silk) Paolo Vondiziano, in 1782, gives Cristodulo Condoguri four pieces to sell (ASVe, CVRC Busta 3, 268 v). In the same year Tommasina Palma brings in her dowry a *giubbè* made of this (ASVe, CVRC Busta 3, 5).

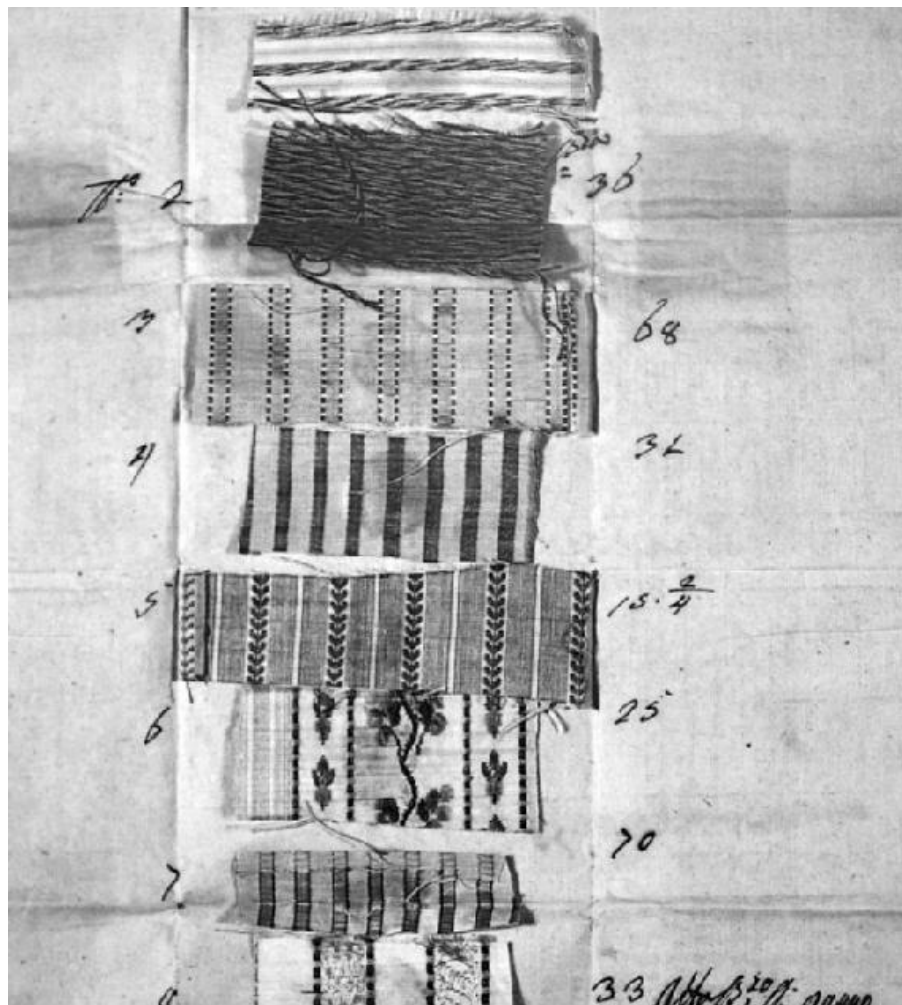


Figure 1: ASVe, Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte contrabbandi, busta 946. Samples from the industry Bortolo Accorsi, 1778. 19 Gross silk and cotton in various weaves and patterns.



Figure 2: Centro Studi di Storia del Tessuto e del Costume, Amoer, detail from a dress.

– The *broccado*, (Eng. Brocade) was a shuttle-woven decorated fabric particularly widespread in Venice (Bianchi 1997, 45). In Cyprus, part of the silk fabrics arriving from Venice had this type of decoration and were described in the documents as *damasco con oro e argento*, *raso con oro e naturali* or *fiori d'oro* and *seta con oro e argento*, (Fig. 3). Brocade fabrics were imported and used in large quantities during all the 18th century, as we refer in the entry *raso* and *damasco*.

– The *broccadello* was a silk fabric with a complex weaving technique (Fig. 4), produced in Venice and presents a unique floral decoration (Vitali 1992, 72–78; Bianchi 1997, 44). During the second half of the 18th century was outdated in Europe, but continues to be produced in the Venetian lagoon and exported to the East. This fabric was suitable for covering furniture and walls but also for the sewing of clothing, especially women's. Is not noted often in the documents. Despite this, its presence is the confirm that this textile production was addressed to oriental markets.

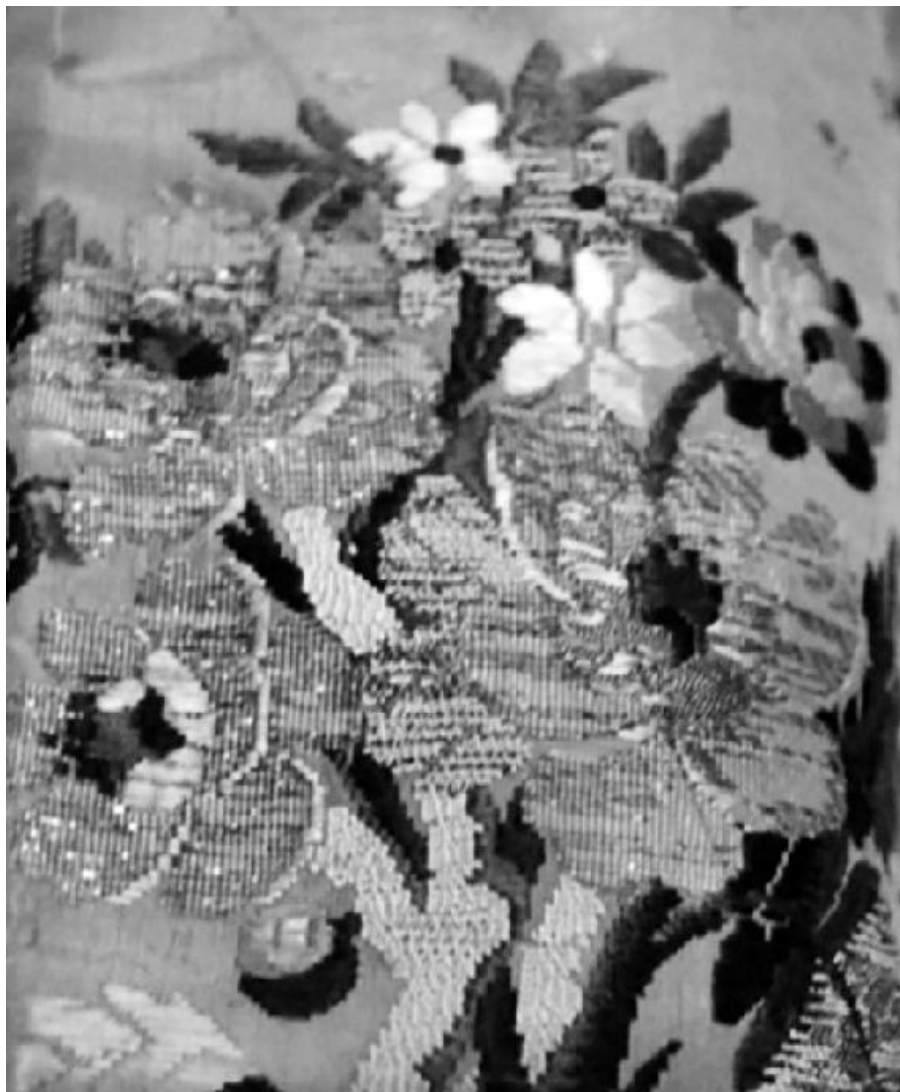


Figure 3: Private Collection, Venice, Broccado 18th century.

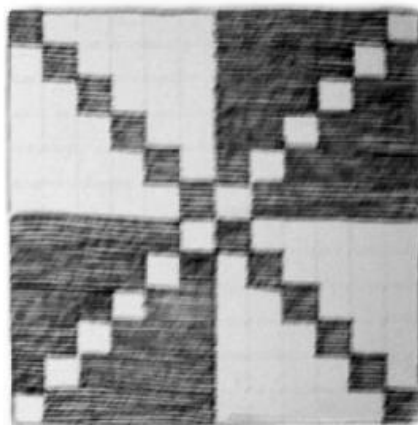


Figure 4: Broccadello weaving pattern.

– The *cannavasso* is a Venetian silk fabric of the *broccato* family and gets its name from its warp threads of the canvas (Vitali 1992, 125). It was often brocade with gold and silver threads and in Cyprus (with this name) was released for a period of 5 years. It seems that Ottoman type trousers were made from this material, as indicated in the inventory of Simon Smirich and Andrea Crelich (ASVe, CVRC, busta 6, 75,78).

– The *crèmes*, as fabric and not as dye, seems to be another silk textile (Vitali 1992, 455). The assumption of silk, as a weaving material, is based on the objects made from it like fine handkerchiefs, *fascie* (a sort of belt) and few *braghesse* (oriental trousers), in addition to the expensive dyeing reserved for fine fabrics. Its mention in the documents is very limited.

– One of the fabrics with greater commercial success is the silk *damaschetto*, of the *damasco* weaving type, often with vegetal scroll pattern decorations and brocade additions for threads of gold and silver (Hardouin Fourgier *et al.* 1994, 159–162; Argentieri Zanetti 1987, 32; Vitali 1992, 171). In Cyprus, was imported in large quantities, almost 13.500 piks in 20 years, and its price was high, 2,5 to 5 piastres per pik. From this fabric, circulating in Cyprus, were the local taste vests: *zipponi alla Cipriota*, *crosati*, *camisiolini*, as well as linings of coats and furs and cushion covers, all of Ottoman-style. The companies Vassalo e Giachich and Seriola e Pelli were the major

importers.

– In comparison to *damaschetto*, another type of cloth, names *damasco* (Eng. Damask), a cloth with alternating warp, and weft satins (Fig. 5), was used much less in clothing perhaps because it was most commonly cited in the documents as “silk with floral decoration” *set(t)a con naturali, seta con fiori etc.* In private documents it is displayed from 1751 until 1793 and it was used for lining chairs and armchairs, for ottoman type clothes like *curta*- type of coat, *zimpounia* and *braghese* (trousers) *alla turca*.

– The eminently precious fabric was the *ganzo* (with the gold-weave like *lastra*). Ganzo was a lampass pattern silk brocade, adorned with colour and metal (gold and silver) additions (Fig. 6), depicting a great shape floral decoration (Hardouin Fourgier *et al.* 1994, 232; Davanzo Poli 1984, 152). In Cyprus within the period 1754–1786, this name is noted and it is imported three times in 1754, 1762 and 1765. Overall 692.5 piks arrived, costing the remarkable amount of 3760 piastres. The importers were Pietro Vassalo and Diodato di Michiel.

– The *lastra* (Fig. 7) was full of gold weft on a silk base (Davanzo Poli 1984, 152) and in Cyprus it reaches a total of 387 piks. Its price was 5.5 piastres per pik and it was introduced only by one Venetian dealer, Pietro Vassalo, who probably had the exclusive import or simply the economic opportunity and the right commercial channels to distribute it. We have no indication for the use of these fabrics in local attire or for any exports from Cyprus to other countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. Its presence, however, as an import product, emphasizes that the island was demand of such quality fabrics and that part of the population, inhabiting Cyprus wore clothes sewn from these textiles. Most probably end buyers were wealthy Ottomans whose ledgers are not known to us.

– The *rasetto* was silk fabric of *raso* type (Eng. satin), sometimes mixed with linen or cotton in warps, produced in Venice but also in Cyprus (Kyprianos 1788, 366). No importation information was found leading to the belief that its use in the island was limited to local productions, without excluding an import under the name of *raso*, (Fig. 8).

– Unlike *rasetto*, *raso* (Eng. Satin), the cloth with war faced weaving with no definite diagonal lines, was introduced to the island from Venice (Zanetti, 1987, 57; Bianchi 1997, 338). It was the main silk fabric of Venetian productions, encountered in Cyprus in large quantities and different types. Its presence between 1754 and 1764 is

estimated to be 24,543 piks while for the period from 1778 to 1786 the number of piks was less than 9,000. This drastic decrease in imports is associated with the recession of the Venetian production (Davanzo Poli, Moronato 1994, 88–89) and with the increase of local Cypriot textile production (Aristeidou 2006, 121–126). The same recession in the use of the fabric in private documents is not found, confirming the fact that it was not a change of taste, but a change of the source. At this point, apart from the increase of the Cypriot production, we can note the import as well from other countries such as France. This hypothesis cannot be confirmed since the published documents of the French Consulate do not extend to the dates of interest for this study, from the Venetian documents analyzed, France is mentioned nowhere within them as a source of *raso*. From this fabric were sewn Ottoman clothes and accessories such as scarves, vests like *zimpounia* and *camisiole*, coats like *tsoupè*, pants – *bragoni*, and *anteri* – long dress, but also clothes of western style including all male garments like *sottovesti*, *calzoni*, *vesti*, *camisiole* and *vellade*, (Fig. 9).

– The particular value of silk, sometimes limits the descriptions in the documents and deprives us of the name of the weaving type. With the generic term *seta*, (Eng. silk), relatively small quantities of fabrics are recorded in import documents, since the official documents were useful or necessary to list the goods in detail. The use of this general term covers the period from 1755 until 1786. In private documents, on the other hand, the presence of the word *seta* is frequent and is often accompanied by its weaving type or its commercial name *bordato*, *camelotto*, *care*, *gheillan*, *brugundi*. From 1745 to 1795 there are references to silk fabrics from Cyprus, Messina, Beirut, Chios, Istanbul, France and certainly Venice. Large number refers to socks, *fascie* (belts-sashes), scarves, hats and decorative flowers, ribbons for neck and handbags as well as oriental type garments like *fistan*-dress, *socardi*-vest, *braghese*-trousers and coats like *pinisia*, *giacette* and *curto* as well as western type clothes like *camicia*-shirt, *camisiola*-waistcoat, *calzone*-pants, *vellada*-frock-coat. Also, household items such as sheets, pillowcases, towels, curtains and armchairs are sewn or lined with the valuable animal fiber, silk.

– Restricted was also the presence of the Venetian, silk weaving fabric, *siviglia* which is constructed in the manner of the Spanish namesake city. It was imported just once, by Pietro Vassalo in 1755, in 97 piks for a total amount of 194 piastres (ASVe, CVRC, busta 6, 122).

– The *vel(l)udo* (Eng. velvet) holds a special place in Venetian textiles, (Fig. 10). These yielded the Venetian industry's fame and

power that kept her for half a millennium, the ultimate commercial power in the textile industry (Davanzo Poli 1988, 41–46). The velvet, during the 18th century, was no longer the basis of attire; its presence was quite limited and the design was struggling to respond to the new aesthetic data. No country or manufacture is mentioned and we cannot be sure that it is only a Venetian product since quantities of velvet were also exported from France and from within the Ottoman Empire. The weaving materials were silk and cotton, or better; in some cases it was only referred to cotton, leading us to understand that the rest was in silk. The colours were white, black, red, ash, purple-violet, violet, blue, green and olive green. The decoration referred to cloth manufactured with gold (brocade) and floral patterns. From velvet hats, ribbons, shoes, pants, frock-coats, coats and waistcoats were made.



Figure 5: Private Collection, Venice, Damasco 18th cent.



Figure 6: Private Collection, Venice, Ganzo, silk lampasso on satin base with silver and gold threads, early 18th cent.

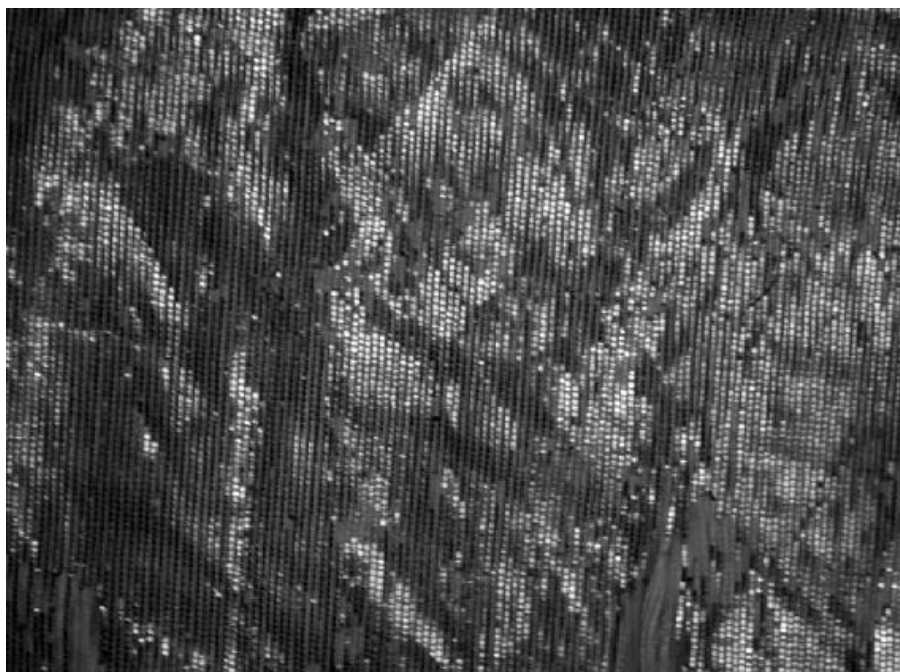


Figure 7: Private Collection, Venice, Lastra early 19th cent.



Figure 8: Private Collection, Venice, rasetto, late 18th cent.



Figure 9: Centro Studi di Storia del Tessuto e del Costume, Venice. Raso. Detail from a vellada, 18th cent.

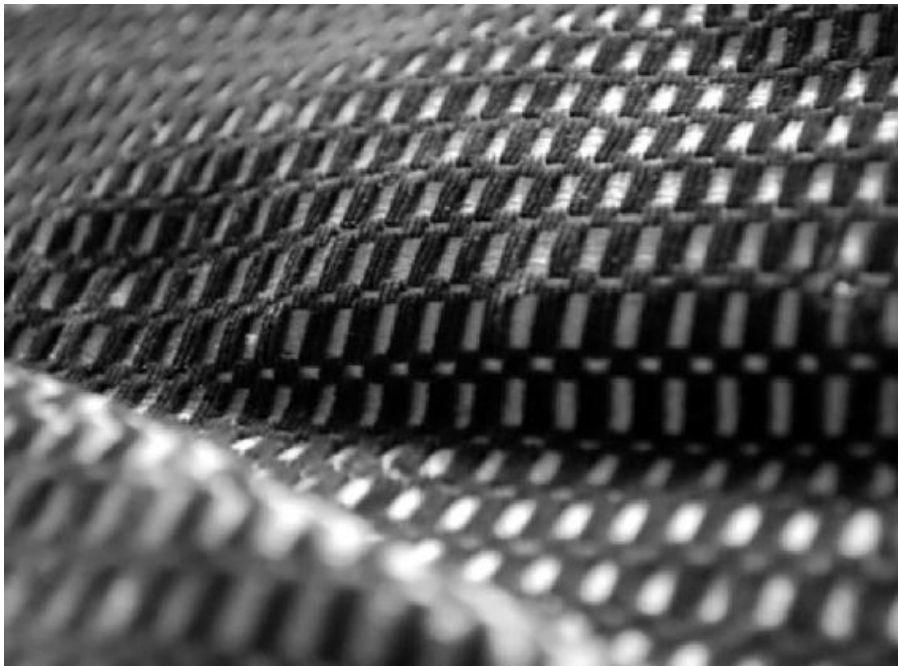


Figure 10: Centro Studi di Storia del Tessuto e del Costume, Venice. Silk velludo on liserè base. 18th century.

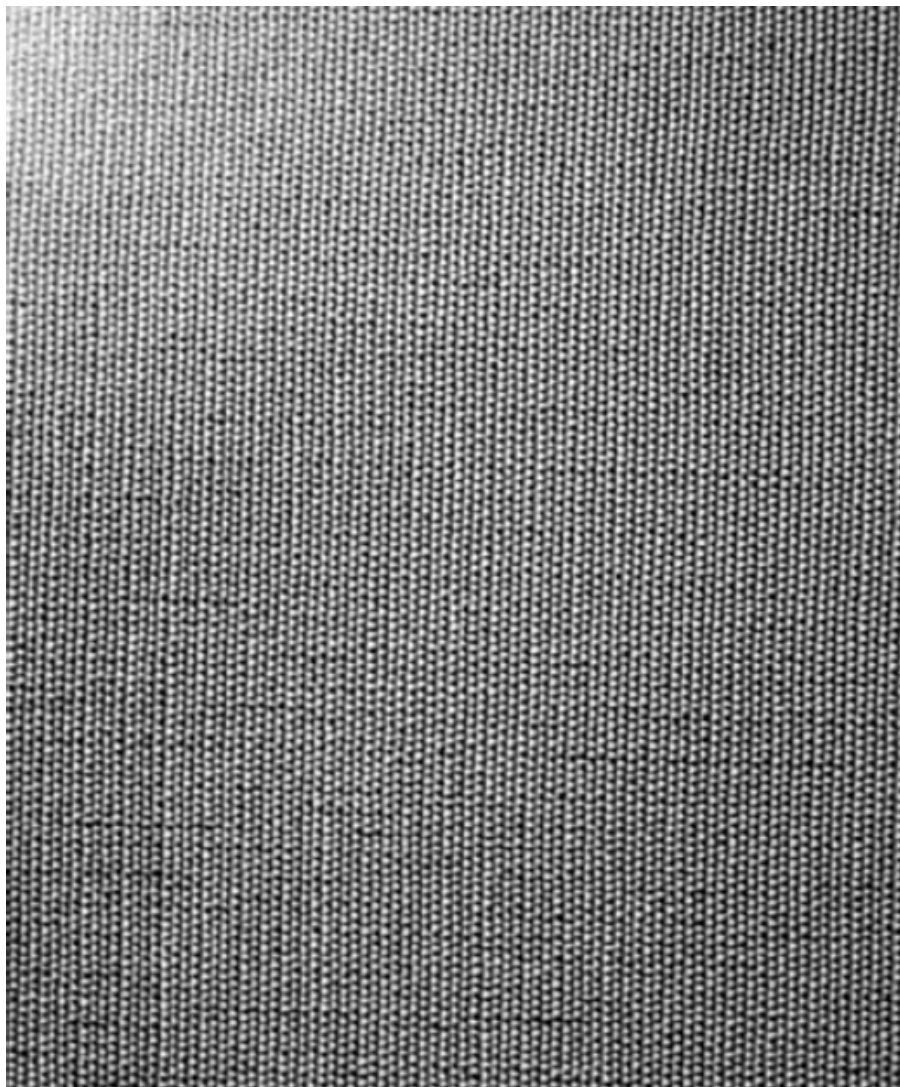


Figure 11: Private Collection, Venice, Crespo, 19th century

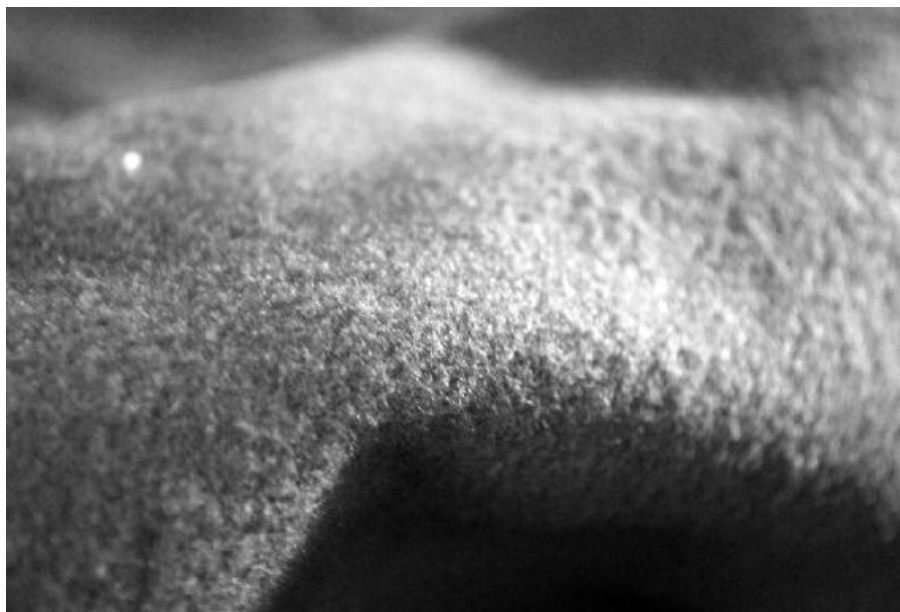


Figure 12: Private Collection, Venice, panno, detail from a tabarro.

B. Wool

– Wool plain weave fabric with very high quality yarn, imported in Cyprus, was the *camelotto* (Bianchi 1997, 56–57). This was a wool fabric, rarely blended with silk, that arrives in large quantities (more than 1200 piks for 4 piastres each) on the island from 1760 until 1781. In private documents its presence is notable, and it is used for making of Ottoman and European style pants, shirts, vests and waistcoats. The importers were Evangelista and Constantino Peristianis, Antonio Mallada, Emanuel Vassalo and Agostin Petrina.

– A wool fabric of Venetian import was *crespo* (Devoti 1993, 252; Hardouin Fourgier *et al.* 1994, 152; Bianchi 1997, 98). In Cyprus we come across it with this name only once, in the ledger of Captain Leonardo Pacussi. Of the same weaving type of *crespo* was the fabric *stamina* or *tamina*. It is a twisted yarn woven, sometimes with silk weft from which socks, trousers and skirts were sewn. This name is found only once in imports but it is found quite often in private documents. Probably with this term, the Venetians writers named also productions that were not made in Venice, (Fig. 11).

– The fabric *londrina* (Bianchi 1997, 24; Hardouin Fourgier *et al.* 1994, 245) was a type of Venetian and French production, present in Cyprus since the Seventeenth century, as declared in the files of the French consulate (Loizidou Pouradie 1999 and 2002). Eurosine

Rizopoulou – Egoumenidou notes the fabric in church ledgers, throughout the course of the century, as a French origin woollen woven (Rizopoulou Egoumenidou 1996, 170). In the documentation of the Venetian Consulate, new evidence proved its import from Venice. Overall in 20 years, 2,334 piks of measurable quantity fabric arrived on the island by Andrea Pelli, Agostin Petrina and Giuseppe Giaxich for an amount that exceeds 3,500 piastres. The wool product was woven in Venice according to the French manner, *uso di Francia*, and was one of the efforts of the Venetian textile industry to penetrate the market opened by the French textile mills. Although the presence of this fabric in Cyprus is relatively limited, it confirms the Venetian producers and traders spread, along with their traditional commercial products (silk brocade), the new fabrics produced, particularly in places such as Cyprus, which trade of these fabrics was already developed by the French. Private documents inform us that from *londrina* in Cyprus dresses, vests, and linings in furs were made.



Figure 13: Panaghia Chrisopolitissa, Larnaca, 18th cent. icon with a domestic scene of a western taste interior.

– A fabric made from sheep thread also ranks first in the technical changes the Venetians tried to adopt from the French textile creation, was the *padovanella* (Davanzo Poli 2001, 200). As its name implies, this fabric was manufactured in the city of Padua, and as dictated by the revised Venetian law, was woven only from Spanish wool. In

Cyprus it was imported in small quantities, 616 piks in 20 years, and the colour was scarlet. This fabric was likely to be called *pezza di Spagna* as well.

– With the generic term *panno* the Venetian documents refer to woollen fabrics (Boerio 1856, 468) most of which are of weaving type *saglia*, (Eng. twill) (Fig. 12). Although Cyprus produces woollen fabrics, one can assume that these were of lower quality and were used for more widespread and general uses. The import documents indicate a fairly significant amount of *panni* and in most cases the high quality is noted with the word *paragon*, the title that the Venetian State attaches to products found in all quality indicators set by local laws, to the greatest extent possible (Davanzo Poli 1984, 151; Vitali 1992, 275). From the year 1754 to the 1785, 20.000 piks were imported for a price that went from 1.5 to 3.5 piastres per pik. From *panno*, according to the documents, were made both Ottoman garments and European garments, mostly jackets, coats and overcoats, trousers and hats.



Figure 14: Agios Ioannis Prodromos, Dromolaxia, icon of St. John, 1794, detail with donors.

– The fabric called *perpetuana* (Vitali 1992, 291, 321; Hardouin Fourgier *et al.* 1994, 303) belongs in the family of woollen fabrics and in particular that of *rassa* (Davanzo Poli 2001, 202; Vitali 1992, 321). This was only noted once, and it concerns pillowcases with print decorations (ASVe, CVRC, busta 5, 264).

From this fabric were constructed pants of the types *calzoni*,

braghese and *bragoni* and bust garments as *zimpounia* and *crosati*. None of these fabrics, *rassa* and *perpetuana*, appear in import documents with the names only mentioned in private documents, probably since they were filled with the general name *panni*.

– The main textile structure of wool, which turns out to be their metonym (Boerio 1856, 592), is *saglia*, *sargia*, *sarza* or *sajia*, the well-known diagonal weaving pattern of twill (Bianchi 1997, 370; Vitali 1992, 340). In Cyprus, the fabric was imported in significant quantities and its mention in private documents was quite frequent. Part of these fabrics was of highest quality, *paragon* and most are of precious dark red colour *scarlato*, the most important and most expensive dye of Venetian dye-workshop (Vitali 1992, 344). The relationship of the fabric was so close to this colour that in some cases is found in documents as its synonym (Davanzo Poli 1984, 154). Its values range from 3 to 7 piastres per pik and price was based on the quality of raw materials, it was not rare for these fabrics to be woven from different qualities of wool and blend, in the warps, with cotton or silk. Besides scarlet, *saglia* was reported of fabrics dyed black, green, white, rose, torques and *paonazo* (greenish blue). The countries which were declared in the private documents as producers of this fabric were England, Egypt and Venice. The Venetian productions of *sajia* were widespread throughout the Empire and were highly regarded in the high society of the Ottomans (Maury 2009, 36). From the woollen fabric we encounter clothing of Ottoman types like *giubbé*, *curto*, *pinisia*, and details on fur overcoats; but also European garment like *sottovesti*, *vellade* and *braghese*.

Complex issues are many and concern the presence and importance of European traders in the Ottoman Empire, the social significance of the use of fabrics in the Ottoman region and the analysis of the structure of Cypriot society through consumption of luxury goods. Here we have presented a variety of fabrics imported in Cyprus from Venetians nationals, or more precisely, in addition to the Venetians, the inhabitants of the Dalmatian Coast and those of the Ionian Islands, and sold in their stores as well as those sold by Europeans colleagues and also local vendors.

From the garments made from these fabrics we can confidently say that all tastes prevailing in Larnaca were served. This fact confirms that their country of origin, and this applies as well to other European fabrics, was not limited to the European audience and what was close to Europe (Fig. 13), but was also spread to the Ottoman aesthetic social strata (Fig. 14). From the names of their owners, we can say with certainty that they were influential people of high social status and economic prosperity. This fact indicates that the textiles, or better

the garments sewn from them, were intended for an elite public; therefore the lower strata desired to buy them as evidenced by the documents of public auctions where few workers, sailors and fishermen were involved with purchasing ragged garments made by quality textiles.

These data, in terms of trade and the use of Venetian fabrics, had long been suspected by the scholars. With the new information collected and the completion of the forthcoming thesis, we will be able to determine in detail what concerning the foregoing. At the same time, we will be able to define the subtle question of how fashion was setting out the social dimension of people by the way they choose to appear as well as the relation between the social strata in relation to the attire in a heterogeneous and complex society as that of Larnaca during the Eighteenth century.

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1 The thesis of my PhD is monitored by the professor Mrs. Vasiliki Rokou at the University of Ioanninon and expects presentation.

2 It. Pico = 72cm.

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